

INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR

However sad it may seem it is but a fact that the man who laboured and toiled the whole of his life to keep fresh and alive the memories of others himself fell prey to oblivion, and the dust of time concealed his worthy name. It was due to this lack of information about Muhammad Šādiq Dīhlawī Kashmīrī Hamadānī, hereafter referred to as Šādiq Hamadānī, author of the *Kalimāt al-Šādiqīn* and the *Tabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*, that scholars as distinguished as Professor Dowson faltered, and confused him with Šādiq Khān, author of the *Shāhjahān-Nāma*.¹ This last, however, an *Amīr* of the imperial court,² does not have anything in common, save a name of frequent occurrence, with our author, a man in humble circumstances, devoted to academic endeavours and mystical pursuits.

Šādiq Hamadānī did not bequeath any consistent account of his life nor did any subsequent biography notice him though some stray references to his name, which until now have remained unidentified, did appear in some contemporary works.³ The biographical sketch that

1. H.M. Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, ed. Professor John Dowson, Indian repr. (Allahabad 1964), Vol. VII, p. 133. The same mistake has been committed by other authors also, e.g., see Bazarai Prasad Sakseena, *History of Shāhjahān of Dīhlī* (Allahabad 1958), Introduction, p. xvii, and M.L. Rahman, *Persian Literature in India During the Time of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān* (Baroda 1970), p. 169.
2. He held the *Mansab* of Six Thousand, under Shāhjahān. See his *Shāhjahān-nāma*, British Museum MS. Or. 1671, f. 150b. For his other activities under Shāhjahān, see Sakseena, *op.cit.*, pp. 45, 58, 65, 213.
3. Shaykh Aḥmad Sīrhīndī, *Makṣūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Fākistānī repr. (Karachi 1972), Vol. I, *Makṣūb* 106, 107; Vol. II, *Makṣūb* 22, 28; Vol. III, *Makṣūb* 39; Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sīrhīndī, *Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, Persian text (Lahore 1971), pp. 218-219; and the *Risāla dar Ḥāl-i Wafāt-i Ḥaḍrat Shaykh al-Muḥaddithīn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq bin Sayf al-Dīn Dīhlawī al-Bukhārī*, in the possession (1970) of the late Mr. Saḥīm al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Model Town, Lahore.

follows has been reconstructed with the aid of the stray, internal evidences of Ṣādiq Hamadānī's own works. Wherever necessary and possible, they have been supplemented with the help of other sources too, so as to give a fair idea about the man and his environs.

II. HIS FAMILY BACKGROUND

Ṣādiq Hamadānī's family originally belonged to Hamadan.³ Sometime during the 8th/14th century one of his ancestors came to Kashmir in the company of Mīr Sayyid 'Aḥī Hamadānī. The Mīr ultimately left for Transoxiana,⁴ but the progenitor of our author appears to have stayed back in the valley. What befell this family of emigrants during the next one and a half centuries or so is shrouded in mystery. This much is however clear that their main calling and source of income was trade and their activities in this regard extended from Kashmir to areas as far as Delhi. The maternal grandfather of Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Maulānā Hājī Muḥammad Hamadānī, initially found his way to Delhi as a trader⁵ and finally permanently settled there.

According to another account, also given by Ṣādiq Hamadānī,⁶ on the basis of a statement ascribed to Maulānā Kamāl Kashmīrī Siyālkōtī,⁷ Maulānā Hājī Muḥammad Hamadānī, Maulānā Kamāl Kashmīrī and another student used to study ratiocinative sciences at the feet of a distinguished scholar in Kashmir. When that scholar died, and Maulānā Hājī Muḥammad and his companions failed to find any other learned man in the vicinity under whom they could resume their studies, they decided to continue their efforts by themselves. Periodically they got together and discussed their problems. Gradually these gatherings lost

* Ancient city in central Iran, situated south of Mount Alwand; birthplace of brilliant luminaries, such as Avicenna (physician and philosopher), Bābā Tāhīr 'Uryān (poet), Badī' luminaries, such as Avicenna (physician and philosopher), Bābā Tāhīr 'Uryān (poet), Badī' al-Zamān (literature), Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Ṭabīb (physician, historian and administrator), and Ibn al-Faḥḥ (jurist). Also see *E.I.*, 2 f.

4. He died on his way to Transoxiana, in 786/1385 and his body was carried to Khattalan. See Maulānā 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Ahmad Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns min Ḥadīqat al-Quds*, Persian text, ed. Mahdī Tauhīdīpūr (Tehran n.d.), pp. 447-48.

5. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 159.

6. *Ibid.*

7. He was a celebrated scholar of his times. He started his spiritual training under his father-in-law, Mullā Faḥ Allāh and later continued it under the care of Khawāja 'Abd al-Shahīd Naqshbandī Ahrārī. He taught at Lahore and Siālkot. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī and Mullā 'Abd al-Hakīm Siyālkōtī were two of his most prominent upā. He died at Lahore in 1017/1608-09. (Khawāja Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr-i A'zamī*, Lahore 1303 A.H.). References to him are also seen in Muḥammad Hāshim Kāshimī, *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* (Kampur 1890), p. 128 and Muḥammad Amīn Qazwīnī, *Bīdshāh-nāma*, British Museum MS. Or. 173, f. 425b.

their original charm and became rather monotonous. Thus Maulānā Hājī Muhammad and Maulānā Kamāl set out for India, via Sialkot. At Sialkot, Maulānā Kamāl Kashmīrī liked the place and settled there. Maulānā Hājī Muhammad, however, continued his journey and around 963/1555-56,⁸ reached Delhi, where he busied himself in the acquisition of knowledge. After the completion of his studies he got employment as a teacher in the *Madrasa-i Dihli* and before long established himself as an eminent scholar in sciences as varied as grammar, syntax, logic, rhetoric, prosody, rhyme, jurisprudence, tradition, exegesis, mathematics and medicine.⁹ Šādiq Hamadānī writes:

Despite all erudition and insight that God had bestowed upon him [Hājī Muhammad], annihilation, lowliness, harmlessness, modesty, humility, courtesy, decorum, awe of God, asceticism, abstinence, patience, trust in God, contentment, quietism and resignation, virtues that *Sūfīs* acquire after a good deal of spiritual struggle, were an indispensable ingredient of his sublime nature and pious disposition. In short, he was a sign from amongst the signs of God, and constituted one of the manifestations of Divine mercy. Although the favourites of the then Emperor [Akbar] tried their utmost to allure that unique of the universe through the vanities of the world and thus use him for their own ends, their efforts did not produce any result. Similarly, some of the officers stationed at Delhi thought of invoking the imperial mandate for his appointment as the *Qādī* of Delhi, but he spurned that offer too. He did not budge an inch from his corner of spiritual poverty (*Faqr*) and indifference towards the worldly objects, nor did he go after dignity and wealth, desire of which is ingrained in human nature. When he passed sixty years of his age, and his incandescent disposition became afflicted with fever, he very emphatically advised for the preparation of his obsequies, and said that as most of his ancestors passed away at that age it was probable that his life might also have reached its end. He also remarked that he would be ashamed if he outlived the years of the life of the Chief of the Messengers. Peace be upon him! But as the Divine Will had ordained that the seekers of knowledge should continue to benefit from his erudition and attainments he recovered from that disease. He passed away from this dark and transient abode to the eternal world at the age

8. The date has been obtained by subtracting 33, the age at which he arrived in Delhi (*Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 159), from his total age, 76, at the time of his death in 1006/1597 (*Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 76) and then subtracting the difference from the latter.
9. Besides Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad who, writing in 1001/1592, remarks: "Mulā Hājī Kashmīrī is now engaged in teaching in Delhi and knows ratiocognitive and traditional sciences" (*The Tabakat-i Akbari*, Eng. tr. B. De, Vol. II, p. 692), no other contemporary chronicler appears to have recorded Mulā Hājī's name. As such, our only source of reliable and relatively detailed information about him is his grandson, Šādiq Hamadānī. Later hagiographers (e.g., Maulawī Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirat-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind* (Lucknow 1914, p. 46) have also based their accounts on his work.

of 76, on Thursday, the 19th of Šafar in the year 1006 [30th October 1597].¹⁰

His son, Maulānā Ḥasan, composed the following chronogram on this occasion:¹¹

نوزده از ماه صفر رفته بود کین فلک گشته بریز و زیر
زیر و زیر کرد حیات مرا همچو حیات سمک اندر حجر
وز سر من برد ولی نعمتی کز غم او مستعلم گشت سر
پیر خرد را دل و جان زمین خبر خون شد بنوشت بخون جگر
سال و مه و روز ازین واقعه نوزدهم بود ز شهر صفر

Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī was the maternal uncle of Šādiq Hamadānī.¹² Although Šādiq Hamadānī does not mention it specifically, his respectful references to him as "my master" and "my benefactor" (*Makhdūmī waḥ al-ni'ami*),¹³ suggest that he must have been closely associated with the latter's upbringing and education. As for himself, as early as 1001/1592-93, Maulānā Ḥasan had made himself known as a talented young scholar, which is apparent from the fact that our earliest information about him comes from no less an authority than Shaykh

10. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 161. According to some authorities (e.g., 'Allāma 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṣṣ wa Bahjat al-Ma'ām* wa l-Nawāṣiḥ, Hyderabad Deccan, 1976, 3rd Edition, Vol. V, p. 127; Zāhir al-Dīn Ahmad, *Fakhr al-mabī Fārat Adab*, Lahore, n.d., Vol. I, p. 546), Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad travelled to Delhi in pursuit of knowledge, benefited from the spiritualism of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bī'IDh and returned to Kashmīr to take up the profession of teaching and finally died there in 1006/1597.

As is abundantly clear from the foregoing account of Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kashmīrī – based on the information gleaned from the writings of his grandson, Šādiq Hamadānī – the Maulānā arrived in Delhi at the age of 33 and after the completion of his education, started his career as a teacher at Madrasa-i Dīhī. This position he continued to occupy until his death in 1006/1597, that is, until two years before the very arrival of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī in Delhi. Even otherwise, too, Šādiq Hamadānī does not refer to his association with the Naqshbandiyya order.

As for the burial place of the Maulānā, the very inclusion of his notice in the *Kalimāt al-Sādiqīn* is proof enough of the fact that he was buried at Delhi. Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad's works include: *Sharḥ Shawa'ih al-Nabī al-Tirmidhī*, *Kitāb Faḥṣ al-Qur'ān*, *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id al-Aḥādithiyya*, *Sharḥ al-Muḥarrir*, *Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-Sharī'at fi Madhāhib Imām al-Shāfi'ī*, *Sharḥ Mashāriq al-Arwāḥ*, *Khullāṣ Kitāb al-Auḍāḥ fi Bayān Madhāhib al-Arwāḥ*, *Qayd al-Rutub al-Thulāṯha fī Kitāb al-Bay'ū*, *Kitāb Khullāṣ Ilām fi Jam' al-Aḥādith*, *Munashḥab Sharḥ al-Aurād al-Faḥṣiyya*, *Sharḥ al-Aurād al-'Asriyya*, *Kitāb Mu'jizat al-Nabī*, *Risāla Dākir bi-Jabr*, *Risālat al-Iṣn A'zam*, *Sharḥ Him Ḥaḥn*, *Tafṣīl al-Qur'ān*. See Zāhir al-Dīn Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 547.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 136; *Tabaqāt*, l. 418.

13. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text p. 161.

'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. In the course of a biographical notice of one of his contemporary ascetics, Maulānā Muḥammad Baḥthī,¹⁴ while reproducing the following chronogram,

فات فی السبت شیخنا بحنی که نبودش نظیر پیشک و رب
سال تاریخ آن ملک سیرت فات بحنی ندا رسید ز غیب

the Shaykh remarks that it was composed by a young man called Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī who is known for his learning, discipline, pleasant manners, popularity among the people and devotion to the dervishes.¹⁵

Maulānā Ḥasan completed the study of traditional theological sciences under the supervision of Maulānā Muḥammad Yazdī, who was an outstanding scholar of his day and subsequently, during the reign of Akbar, rose to the position of the *Qāḍī* of Delhi.¹⁶ Maulānā Ḥasan was given to ascetic austerities from an early age, and he obtained the formal training in mysticism from Shaykh Chā'in Ladda, generally called Najm al-Haqq,¹⁷ who was an eminent *Khalīfa* and successor of Shaykh 'Abd

14. Initially, he led a very unrestrained and immoderate life, but later on he turned to mysticism, performed arduous spiritual exercises and continually fasted for thirty years. Mirzā Muḥammad 'Azīz, the foster brother of the Emperor Akbar, built him a *Khānqāh* near the tomb of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Auliya. Maulānā Muḥammad Baḥthī spent his time in that *Khānqāh* and when he died, in 1001/1592-93, was buried there. *A.A.*, p. 279.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī was a Shī'ī theologian who arrived in India, sometime in 983/1575-76. Although he could not convert the Emperor to Shī'ism despite his best efforts, in religious discussion with Abū al-Faḍl, he was the only one, with the exception of his compatriot, Ḥakīm Abū al-Faḥr, who could keep pace with that wizard. In the wake of the *Mahdār*, in 987/1579, he was appointed the *Qāḍī al-Qudāt* of Jaunpur. Reaching there he issued a *Farwā*, a formal religious decree, to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy of Islam, was lawful. He was summoned to the Court and on his way thither was got rid of, by being drowned in the river Jamna. *M.T.*, Vol. II, pp. 211, 259, 276-77; also see Salyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (Delhi 1975), pp. 286-87.

17. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418b. He was a distinguished Chishtī saint of his time. When Akbar established the *Ṭibbat-Ḥisnā* and instituted debates on different religious matters, he was also summoned to the Court. The Emperor, who entertained great regard for the Shaykh, appointed quarters for him in the *Ṭibbat-Ḥisnā*, near the imperial place and used to admit him to private interviews at night. The Shaykh's inverted prayers (*Namāz-i ma'kūs*), however, did not produce a favourable impression on the Emperor. 'Abd al-Qāḍir al-Badā'oni, *op.cit.*, Eng. Tr. and ed. Sir Wolsley Haig, Indian repr. (Patna 1973), Vol. III, pp. 163-64. Also see *A.A.*, p. 275; *G.A.*, F. 209b., *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 261.

al-'Azīz Jaunpūrī,¹⁸ and lived at a place called Suhna, a town in the District and Tahsīl of Gurgā'on, Panjab.¹⁹ Shaykh Chā'īn Ladda died in 998/1589-90. Maulānā Hasan composed a long chronogram on this occasion.²⁰

In 1008/1599-1600 when Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh arrived in Delhi, Maulānā Hasan felt strongly drawn towards him, so much so that in the same year when one of his friends, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, came to Delhi on his way to the Hijāz, he attracted him too, to the company of the Khwāja.²¹ Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, who subsequently emerged as one of the leading lights of the Naqshbandiyya order in India, always felt indebted to Maulānā Hasan for this favour.²²

Maulānā Hasan's relations with the Khwāja were of a devoted associate rather than those of a simple disciple.²³ The Khwāja also had a very affectionate attitude towards him. On the death of the Khwāja, Maulānā Hasan composed the following chronogram:²⁴

18. Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Ḥasan Ṭāhī was a distinguished *Khalīfa* of Miṣṣan Qādī Khān Naṣṣī Zafarābādī. He was born in Jaunpur, in 898/1492-93, and came to Delhi with his father at the age of one and a half years, and remained there until his death in 975/1567-68. He was very fond of *Semā'* and, according to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī: 'the spiritual life of Delhi revolved around him' (A.A., pp. 275-76). The Shaykh appears to have been extremely popular among his contemporaries. Abū al-Faḍl has included him among the learned men of his time who understood the mysteries of both worlds (*Khawṣ-i naṣṣiyya*) (*The Aṭ-ī Akbarī*, Eng. tr. H. Blochmann, Indian repr. (Delhi 1965), Vol. I, p. 607; Persian text, Vol. I, p. 166). Badāyūnī frequented his assemblies (M.T., Vol. II, p. 50) and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq composed the following *mnemonym* on his death:

سیح کامل عارف دوران خود عبد العزیز
آنکه می داد اهل دل را مجلسش یاد از دست
هر چه اند توصیف اهل آله در عالم بود
حق تعالی از اول طمرت بذات او سرشت
یادگار اهل جنت او بود دو دوران خود
گشت ازان تاریخ هفتس - یادگار اهل جنت

(A.A., p. 275). For notices of his life, also see G.A., f. 199b., *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 135-40, *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 245.

19. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New series, Vol. XLB, p. 72.

20. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 136-37.

21. *Zubdat al-Maṣmū'āt*, p. 138. Cf. *Ḥadārāt*, Persian Text, p. 262.

22. *Zubdat*, p. 138, *Makṭūb*, 99, 100, 101, and 279, in Vol. I, and *Makṭūb* 122, in Vol. III of the *Makṭūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, are addressed to Maulānā Ḥasan Kaṣmīrī Dihlawī Hamadānī. In *Makṭūb* 279 of Vol. I and *Makṭūb* 122 of Vol. III, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī expresses his gratitude to the Maulānā for leading him to the company of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh.

23. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418b.; also see *Biography of Muḥammad al-Bāqī*, MS., D.P. 1158c, 67b.

24. *Biography*, f. 267b.

قبله اهل سعادت خواجه باقی آنکه بود
 خاکروب آستانش اهل قال و اهل حال
 همچو خورشید حقیقت نور فیض اقدس
 مشرق و مغرب گرفته چون جنوب و چون شمال
 مدنی حق تجلی جهانی کرده بود
 حالیا بر پندگان دارد تجلی جلال
 حیف کان قطب زمان بعد از چهل سال تمام
 چون مسیحا کرد از داری بداری انتقال
 با دلتش فارغ شد از ارشاد الهیاء زمان
 یا گرفت آئینه اش از خاکیان گرد ملال
 یا بتکمیل ملانک رفت سوی آسمان
 تا مشرف سازد آنجا هم زهی صاحب کمال
 یا نه اینست و نه آن، و ز شوق آن خلوت نشین
 کرد قصد وصل بعد از الفراق و انفصال
 از کمال عشق واصل گشت با محبوب خویش
 عاشق کامل محبت شد از آن سال وصال

Another of Maulānā Hasan's contemporaries mentioned by Šādiq Hamadānī was Shaykh 'Alī Aḥmad, son of Shaykh Husayn Naqshī, an excellent seal engraver.²⁵ He was always engrossed in the tumult of Divine love and the radiance of gentle passion. He died in the course of an ecstasy brought on by hearing the following couplet:

هر قوم راست راهی، دینی و قبله گاهی
 من قبله راست کردم بر سمت کج کلاهی

Jahāngīr, who witnessed the whole scene describes it, in the *Tūzūk*, in these words:

On the night of the 12th [Muharram, 1018/17th April, 1609] an uncommon and strange event took place. Some Delhi singers (*Qawwālīn*, see Jarrett,

25. According to Abū al-Faḍl, Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Delhi, had no equal in the art of engraving, in any country. He held the rank of *Yūzbāshī*. *Aḥadīs* of distinction were promoted to his rank. See *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 22; see also *ibid.*, p. 55.

ii, 236) were singing songs in my presence, and Sayyidī Shāh was, by way of buffoonery, mimicking a religious dance. This verse of Amīr Khusrau was the refrain (*miyān-khāna*) of the song –

Each nation has its right road of faith and its shrine (*qibla-gāhī*).
I've set up my shrine (*qibla*) on the path of the path of him with the cocked cap.

I asked what was the real meaning of the (last) hemistich. Mullā 'Alī Ahmad, the seal engraver, who had the title of Khalīfa, and was an old servant, and with whose father I had learned when I was little, came forward and said, "I have heard from my father that one day Shāikh Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya had put his cap on the side of his head, and was sitting on a terraced roof by the bank of the Jumna and watching the devotions of the Hindus. Just then Amīr Khusrau appeared, and the Shāikh turned to him and said, 'Do you see this crowd', and then he recited this line:

'Each race has its right road of faith and its shrine' (*qibla-gāhī*).

The Amīr, without hesitating, respectfully did homage to the Shāikh, and addressing him said –

'I've set up my shrine in the direction of him with cocked cap' "26

The aforesaid Mullā, when these words were uttered, and the last words of the second hemistich passed over his tongue, became senseless and fell down. Conceiving a great fear from his falling down, I went to his head. Most of those who were present doubted whether he had not had an epileptic fit. The physicians who were present distractedly made inquiry and felt his pulse and brought medicine. However much they beat their hands and feet and exerted themselves, he had delivered his soul to the Creator. As his body was quite warm, they thought that possibly some life might be left in him. After a short time it became evident that the thing was all over and he was dead.²⁷ They carried him away dead to his own house. I had never seen this kind of death, and sent money to his sons for his shroud and burial, and the next morning they sent him to Delhi and buried him in the burial-place of his ancestors.²⁸

26. The account of Mullā 'Alī Ahmad is also corroborated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qoddūs Gangōhī. See his *Ansār al-'Uyūn fī Asār il-Maknūn*, Urdū tr. ['Azīz Ahmad Ahmadī] (Azamgarh [1928], p. 1. Cf. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 144-45.

27. According to the eye-witness account of Jahāngīr, the Mullā died on 12th [Muharram 1018], whereas Sādiq Hamadānī mentions 18th Muharram 1018 as the date of his death (*Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 145), which is incorrect.

28. *The Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Eng. tr., Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, second edition (Delhi 1968), pp. 169-70. The editor's notes have been omitted; *Toozuk-i Jahāngīrī* (Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī), Persian Text, ed. Syed Ahmad (Ghazipur and Aligarh 1863-64).

Shaykh 'Alī Aḥmad was a man of many parts. He was deeply read in astronomy and natural philosophy and was an ardent seeker after knowledge. He was marvellously proficient in all scripts, and in prose composition and orthography he was unrivalled.²⁹ His axiomatic virtues had attracted him many friends which included Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī, Shaykh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī³⁰ and Maulānā Hasan Kashmīrī. The latter, who appears to have been deeply moved by his instantaneous death, composed a very thoughtful chronogram on this occasion.³¹

Maulānā Hasan Kashmīrī was an accomplished poet. His verses had a vein of mysticism which was expressed with excellence and grace. Following of his quatrains have been reproduced by Šādiq Hamadānī in the *Ṭabaqāt*:³²

تا دامن معرفت بدست آوردم
در شیشه عجب صد شکست آوردم
چون دانستم که جمله زو بلکه هموست
ایمان بسجود هر چه هست آوردم

هر ذره که در جهان بعنوانی هست
بر حویلی او خوشتر بر همانی هست
ز بهار بچشم کج نه بینی ز بهار
کین سلسله را سلسله جنبانی هست

با بغض نبی رحمت جهان چه کند ؟
با جان پر از نفاق ایمان چه کند
هرگز نشود بسمی کس تا کس کس
انگاره چو بد قناد سوهان چه کند

29. M.T., Vol. III, pp. 349-50; Eng. tr. pp. 480-81. Badāyūnī who has bestowed very lavish encomiums on the Mullā, writes: "I have been bound to him, to a greater degree than can be imagined, by the bonds of intimacy, confidence, friendship and companionship. . . ." (*Ibid.*)

30. Badāyūnī has also reproduced a letter of Mullā 'Alī Aḥmad to the address of Shaykh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, soliciting the latter's benedictions for the attainment of happiness and welfare in this world and hereafter. (*Ibid.*, Persian Text, pp. 358-60; Eng. tr., pp. 491-93).

31. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 145.

32. Ff. 418b-419.

نثر در ره عشق چهره بر نگرده ای
 یگانه دوا و آسناي درده ای
 گهرم نگر و از رسم دستان بردی
 در معرکه جاد ما مرد نه ای

Maulānā Ḥasan appears to have lived a very long life. He was over fifty³³ in 1018/1609, and, at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, he was still alive and at the peak of his scholarly glory which is borne out by the following verses which were composed, in his praise, by one of his 'distinguished contemporaries':³⁴

گوی دار انجا یکی رنگین سخن از وحد الدهر مخدومی حسن
 آن حسن نی کاندرین دارالفنا بود در عهد نظام الاولیا
 آن حسن کامروز با حد آب و تاب دور و شب تابان بود چون آفتاب
 حسن معنی را جمال معنوی از کمالش کمال معنوی
 شرح علم و حلم آن والا سرور و شادی نگنجد در صبر عقل و هوش

Mullā Ḥalidūd Dihlawī:

Maulānā Ḥasan's brother, Mullā Ḥalidūd Dihlawī Kashmīrī Hamadānī, was also a pre-eminent scholar. His accomplishments were mainly in the field of mathematics and astrology. Nevertheless, he lived a life of dervishes.³⁵

Abū al-Ḥasan Dānā:

Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī's elder son named Abū al-Ḥasan Dānā was a born poet, and poetry remained his passion throughout his life. He died at the age of 27, in 1038/1628-29. "Had he lived longer", remarks Ṣādiq Hamadānī, "he would have done miracles in the field of poetry". These verses belong to him:³⁶

33. See the first couplet of the *mnemotemon* which he recited at the death of Mullā 'Alī Ahmad, in the *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 145.

34. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 418-418b.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 377b.

36. *Ibid.*, ff. 431a-431.

۱. ہر بیوہ جو خلعہ خلعہ سے سب سے سب سے
 جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۲. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۳. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۴. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۵. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۶. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۷. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۸. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۹. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے
 ۱۰. ہر بیوہ جس سے سب سے سب سے سب سے سب سے

The following quatrain was composed by him at a very early age

۱۰۰. پر دل ریش رس دیشی مردی پر خامب حلوں گہاں سر بسی مردی
میر دل حلوں ہمیری کہ مرا موسی و حماندہ کی کہ لبسی مردی

Šāduḥ Ḥamaḍānī composed the following chronogram on his death.³⁷

[illegible]

Besides two sons and one grandson of Maulana Hajjī Muḥammad, Sādiq Hamadānī has, besides himself, noticed three other offspring of the Maulānā's daughters. They are Hāfiz Muḥammad Khayālī, Mullā Haydar Dihawī and Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf Kashmīrī.

Hāfiz Muhammad Khayālī

The grandson of Maulana Hāfi Muhammad Hamadānī, Hāfiz Muhammad Khayalī, was a paragon of virtues. His erudition and poetry

were widely respected. In astrology, mathematics and *Jafr*³⁸ his knowledge was excellent. By nature he was extremely calm, composed and self-possessed. He never bowed down his head before worldly people. His poetry, according to Sādiq Hamadānī, beamed with exuberance and vigour of style. "As a poet he compared with Anwarī, with the only difference that Anwarī spent his whole life-span in the flattery of others, while he did not."³⁹ Some of his verses are given below:

عمر غریب همه در بی‌رگی گذشت در شب بوشه اند مگر سر بوشت ما



بمشو کسی و یارم بمره جان ددی

گر از حدای درسم ، ترا حد گویم



با دو چشم خون فشار نیری مدارم این‌گونه

و نه بگردنم مرا گردیده سر تا پا سستی



ام که بودی معانی یارم در حید سخن ر دیگران مدارم

بر مدعیان گروه فصل و هرم این پس که سمی حافظ شیرام

Mullā Haydar Dihlawī.

This cousin of Sādiq Hamadānī was a prodigy. He memorized the Qur ān by heart and completed his education at a very early age.⁴⁰

Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf Kashmīrī

He was a brother of Sādiq Hamadānī. In poetry and *belles-lettres* he was quite excellent, his panegyrics were particularly remarkable. He was employed in the imperial army. He died in 1033/1623-24. The following verses belong to him.⁴¹

38. The art of divining from letters of the Arabic alphabet with the help of their numerical values.

39. *Jabaqāt*, f. 429.

40. *Ibid.*, ff 421-421b.

41. *Ibid.*, ff 392-392b.

عیشی ما منظر بعبه و می بیست
 مشتاق بر سر دایره می بیست
 یک سنه وارستگی عاشق جانبار
 در حوصله همب صد حاتم طی بیست
 شب بیست که در برم عمت شیشه دل را
 صد قهقهه بر جام جم و مجلس کی بیست
 حاجی سر خود گیر و ره کعبه بدست ار
 در وادی ما پای ترا قوب طی بیست
 در بیعه غم بوسه با حوضه شادی است
 شامی نرسیده است که صبحیش زپی بیست



هم از دل صبر و صبر و صبر
 عجب دردی که وخت کفایت را با خانه می دردد

III. HIS TEACHERS

(i) Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī

First and foremost among the teachers of Ṣadiq Hamadānī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, occupies a very prominent position in the religious and cultural annals of Muslim India and Pakistan. He was born in Muḥarram 958/January-February 1551⁴² at Delhi, into a very distinguished and well known Turkic family,⁴³ which had migrated to India in the wake of the Mongol invasions into Transoxiana. His forefathers associated with kings and sultans and held key positions in contemporary governments. But his father, Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn, although a renowned saint and scholar,⁴⁴ had no association with the ruling hier-

42. Munṣif Barakat 'Alī, *Mir'at al-Haqqā'iq* (Rampur 1323 A.H.), p. 13. Sayyid Ahmad Qādirī, *Tadhkirat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (Patna 1370 A.H.), 20. Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmī, *Hayat al-Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (Delhi 1953), p. 73; Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, (Lucknow 1965), p. 1533.

43. Āgha Muḥammad Turk al-Bukhārī (d. 739/1338) was the first of Shaykh's ancestors who migrated to India, with his family and followers, during the reign of Sultan 'Alī al-Dīn Khaliqī (695-715/1296-1316), and was deputed to the Gujarat expedition (A.A., p. 289), which took place in 698/1298. Amīr Khutrau Dihlawī, *Khazā'in al-Furūḡ*, ed. Mohammad Wahid Mirza (Calcutta 1953), p. 53. Cf. Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 103.

44. For notices of his life see A.A. pp. 235-41, 291-300; *Kalimat* Persian Text, pp. 145-8.

archy and was content with his meagre means. His sole concern was the proper upbringing and education⁴⁵ of his brilliant son and successor, in whom he had great expectations⁴⁶. As such, by the time Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq had reached the age of majority, he had completed his education and later, in a few years' time, asserted himself as a scholar⁴⁷. In 985/1577 at the instance of his father⁴⁸ he was initiated into the discipleship of Shaykh Mūsā Qādirī Gīlānī,⁴⁹ a descendant of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādirīyya order of mystics. Sometime after the death of his father in 990/1582⁵⁰ he, like many other contemporary scholars, made his way to the court of Akbar, which was considered to be a great centre of learning. The presence of innumerable celebrated scholars at one place and at one time inspired a great deal of competition and offered them an enviable opportunity to match and measure their skills and talents with one another. The magnanimity and munificence of the Emperor, and the deep interest he evinced in various sciences, were yet other factors that contributed to the attraction to his court of men of letters of all castes and creeds and from every nook and corner of his own empire and of neighbouring countries. At the court, the Shaykh's talents did not go undetected and honours were lavished upon him.⁵¹

How long he stayed at Fathpur is a matter of conjecture. This much is, however, known that during his stay there he spent quite some time in the company of his old friends,⁵² Shaykh Faydī Fayyādī, the imperial

45. A.A., p. 301

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

48. 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith, *Risāla-i Wasiyyat* quoted in Munshi Barakat 'Ali, *op cit.*, p. 32. *Akbar al-Akhyār* MS. scribed in Muharram, 24th regnal year of Aurangzib (1092-1681), in Maulawi Muhammad Shafi's private collection of MSS., Lahore, pp. 404-405.

49. Yusuf Husain writes: 'Sheikh 'Abd al-Haq Muhaddis, who had previously accepted the discipleship of Sheikh 'Ali Muttaqi at Mecca, became a follower of Sheikh Musa Gilani.' *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture* (Delhi: 1957), p. 54. This is not correct because firstly, Shaykh 'Ali Muttaqi died in 975/1567 (Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi, *Zād al-Muttaqin fi Sunnati Tariq al-Yaqin* BM. MS. Or. 217, f. 43), when Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi was 17 years old and was still busy in the acquisition of knowledge at Delhi. Secondly, it was Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi's preceptor, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab Muttaqi, who was the disciple of Shaykh 'Ali Muttaqi and not Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq himself. Thirdly, it was before proceeding for Hajj (pilgrimage) that the Shaykh received the Qadiri ordination from Shaykh Musa Qadiri and not after his return from the Hijaz. See *Zād al-Muttaqin* ff. 106-135 b. A.A., pp. 249-51, 305-307.

50. A.A., p. 300.

51. 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi, *Inshā'at Makatib wal-Rasā'il il-Arba' il-Kamil wal-Fadlī*, MS. in the late 'Alama S.V.H. 'Abidi's private collection of MSS., Lahore, p. 286.

52. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. III p. 167

poet-laureate, and Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, an influential grandee and author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and also came into contact with Mullā ‘Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī author of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and the *Najāt al-Rashīd*.⁵³ Nevertheless, as soon as he realized that the progressive elements at the court wanted to exploit his piety and good name for their own ends and make him a source of strength and solidarity for themselves, he was disillusioned.⁵⁴

In 995/1586-87, the Shaykh developed a very strong desire to visit the Hijaz⁵⁵ and so, without making any elaborate preparations, he set out on the journey, via Malwa. By the time he arrived in Gujarat, the sailing season was already over and he had to wait for the next one. Thanks to the assistance and good offices of Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, however, he succeeded in obtaining a passage, during the next sailing season, on a ship bound for the Hijaz.⁵⁶ Reaching Hijaz, without any further loss of time the Shaykh found access to the gatherings of the learned, and busied himself heart and soul in the acquisition of various religious sciences, particularly that of *Hadīth*.⁵⁷ Soon he came into contact with Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Muttaqī⁵⁸ and was so dazzled by his erudition and insight that he spontaneously became his disciple⁵⁹ and for about two years, day and night, remained in his service and benefited from his spiritual and scholarly guidance until at last sometime in 999/1590-91, he was directed by his preceptor to leave for India.⁶⁰ The Shaykh arrived back in India in 1000/1591-92,⁶¹ better qualified and equipped, and thus fully prepared to meet any challenge that the future might throw before him. Back in Delhi, the Shaykh started *ab initio* his academic activities and submerged himself in the task of eradicating the innovations that had crept into Islam through the lack of traditional

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Irsāl al-Makātib* MS., p. 286, *M.T.* Vol. III, p. 113 Eng. tr. p. 167. Mohammad Shafi writes about Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haqq that ‘he spent sometime in Fathpūr, studying with Fayḍ and Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, but fell out with them.’ See his article ‘Abd al-Haqq b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī, Abū al-Madīd’, in *E.I.* The statement is not substantiated by any historical evidence. Moreover, the very fact that the Shaykh stayed for almost one year with Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn while he was waiting for the sailing season to come, and ultimately left for the Hijaz with the help and assistance of both Mirzā, invalidates its authenticity, at least as far as the Mirzā is concerned. See *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 113, Eng. tr., p. 168, G.A., f. 372b.

55. *Akhbar al-Akhyār* MS., p. 406, G.A. f. 372.

56. *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 113, Eng. tr., p. 168 G.A., f. 372b.

57. *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MS., f. 106b.

58. For his life, see A.A., pp. 261-71. *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MS., ff. 47-134b.

59. *Zād al-Muttaqīn* MS., f. 106b.

60. *Ibid.*, f. 113b.

61. A.A., MS., f. 406, *Irsāl al-Makātib*, MS., p. 277.

government support, the inactivity of the 'Ulamā and the dearth of religious fervour among the people

When Khwāja Muhammad Baqī Bī'llah arrived in Delhi, in 1008/1599-1600, and people started flocking around him, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī also felt inclined towards him and subsequently, following a hint from the soul of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī, obtained the *nisba* of the Naqshbandīyya order from him.⁶² Soon after, the Khwāja allowed him to initiate and enrol disciples in that order.⁶³ In 1012/1603, the Khwāja died and with that the Shaykh, who had developed a very deep attachment to him, was plunged into grief and bewilderment. He cut down his intercourse with people and restricted himself to the precincts of his *Khānqāh* and from now on he spent all his time in teaching and training his disciples and writing books.⁶⁴ The vacuum created by the Khwāja's death, however, appears to have been filled later on by Shāh Abu al-Ma'ālī Qādirī of Lahore,⁶⁵ the nephew, son-in-law and successor of Shaykh Dā'ūd Shērgarhī (982/1574-75),⁶⁶ who died in 1024/1615.⁶⁷

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq was kind and humane to one and all, but in view of Ṣādiq Hamadani's devotion to himself, who had not only been his student but was also a favourite disciple of Khwāja Baqī Bī'llah, the Shaykh never grudged him his affection. In 1046/1636-37 when Ṣādiq Hamadani fell ill, the concern and anxiety felt by the Shaykh was

63 *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 149, *Tabaqāt* I, 397

63 *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 149, *Tabaqāt* I, 397

64 *Tabaqāt* II, 397-397b. For the chronogram he composed on the death of the Khwāja, see *Biography* I, 66b.

65 He is generally confused with his namesake who was a disciple of his contemporary Qādirī saint, Miyyān Mīr Lahaurī. The confusion started with Muṣṭafī Ghulām Sarwar Lahaurī (*Khazīnat al-Asfiyā* (Lahore, 1863) Vol. I, pp. 149-50) and was continued in almost all the subsequent works, namely Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore, 1892, p. 63, Denzil Ibbetson *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P.* ed. H.A. Rose (Lahore 1919), Vol. I, p. 165, Shaykh Muhammad Ikram, *Rud-i Karīmī* Fath edition (Lahore 1970), p. 379; and I'jaz al-Haqq Qaddūsī, *Tadhkirat al-Sūfiyā: Punjab* (Karachi 1962), pp. 79-80. For further details see my article 'Ḥadrat Shāh Abū al-Ma'ālī Qādirī aur Ḥadrat Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith ke Bahamī Rawabī' *Sahīfa* Journal of the Majlis-e Taraqqī-e Adab, Lahore.

66 He was the most prominent *Sūfi* of the Qādirīyya order in his time and did a lot of work in the propagation of that *Silsila* in the central areas of the Punjab. For his life see *M.T.*, pp. 28-39, *Ibid.*, Eng. tr., pp. 47-63; *Tabaqāt*, II, 249b.

67 Rahm. Ali Khān Imām, *Muntakhab al-Latā'if* ed. Sayyid Muhammad Rafīq Jālibī Nā'mī and Sayyid Amīr Hasan 'Ābādī (Tehran, 1349 H.Sh.), p. 301, *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā* Vol. I, p. 150 Cf. *Tabaqāt* I, 360b.

a hundred times more than that exhibited by any of Ṣādiq's own near relatives and dear friends. Although they lived in two different corners of the town, the Shaykh wrote him a letter, and sometimes two letters every day to enquire about his health. Ṣādiq Hamadānī collected about one hundred and fifty such letters in the Shaykh's own hand.⁶⁸

Besides other works of *Hadīth* that Ṣādiq Hamadānī studied at the feet of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, he finished the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* of Shaykh Waḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Khatīb al-Tabrizī also. Thereafter, he compiled its *Asmā' al-rijāl*, the annotated index of the transmitters of *Hadīth* mentioned in that book, and sent it to the Shaykh for his perusal. The Shaykh was overwhelmed with joy at the sight of the work, and in the course of a warm and encouraging letter addressed to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, wrote 'that the remark of some of my teachers of *Hadīth* that "we have benefited from you more than you have from ourselves", actually applies to this situation. No doubt you benefited from myself but the gains I shall obtain from your work will certainly be more than that'.⁶⁹

The Shaykh died on 21st Rabi' I, 1052/19th June, 1642, and was buried in a mausoleum already constructed in the vicinity of the famous Hauḍ-i Shamsī in Delhi.⁷⁰ Ṣādiq Hamadānī paid his last tribute to his master in the shape of the following chronogram.⁷¹

مظہر فیض و علم و عرفان رفت	غوث فاق شیخ عبدالحق
ہر سہ تر یک رہاں و یک آن رفت	سبیل وقت و بایرید و جید
بوحیفہ گذشت و سہیاں رفت	دہر وعدہ و رہد سد درہد
جان عالم ہوی حباب رفت	حرو با کل سبب در حلول
محیی دین ہر مسلمان رفت	ریست و ریب اہل علم بہاد
ہفتمی گشت قطب نوران رفت	سال فوش و عقل پرسیدم

68. *Ṭabaqāt*, t. 398b.

69. *Ibid.*, ff. 398-398b.

70. *Risāla dar Ḥāl-i Wafāt*, *Mir'at al-Haqā'iq*, p. 92.

71. *Risāla dar Ḥāl-i Wafāt*.

(ii) Shaykh Fā'id Dihlawī

He remembered by heart the substance of most books on rhetoric and principles of jurisprudence. When his students studied any book in his presence, he explained the meaning of several pages in advance and thus made the lesson easier for them. Modest, humble and sincere, he was not in the least affected by contemporary philosophies and heterodox ideas. In short, he was a scholar with all the saintly virtues. Sādiq Hamadānī studied the *Mutawwal* at his feet.⁷²

Shaykh Fā'id died in 1022, 1613-14 and was buried in the Qadam Sharīf.⁷³

(iii) Shaykh Chānd Dihlawī

He was another of Sādiq Hamadānī's teachers, who had acquired knowledge with great diligence and industry. A multivorous reader, he would hardly part with his books. He had an amazing knack of expatiating in detail upon the contents of a wide range of books. He died in 1029/1619-20 and was buried in Maqbara-i Bukhārīyan.⁷⁴

IV. HIS SPIRITUAL PRECEPTOR

Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh

In view of the early and close relations of Shaykh And al-Ilaqq Muhaddith Dihlawī and Mauānā Hasan Kashmīrī with Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, we may assume that Sādiq Hamadānī also joined his company soon after his arrival in Delhi, in 1008, 1599-1600. Like all others who came into contact with the Khwāja, Sādiq Hamadānī was much affected by his benevolent personality and remarkable mystical achievements and even after the Khwāja's death, he continued

72. Sayyid Alīnā Naqawī (*Tadhkirat-nawāis dar Hind-o Fāristān* (Tehran 1964), p. 189 and Ahmad Gulchīnī: *Ma'ānu (Ta'rīkh-i Tadhkirat-hā) Fārsi* (Tehran 1350 H.Sh.), Vol. II, p. 676. In 1) both have confused him with Shaykh Abū al-Fayḍ Fayyāzī (d. 1004/1595-96). The latter, who relies solely on Naqawī's evidence, and does not appear to have seen Rieu himself, however, imputes the baseless blame of 'committing the mistakes and misleading others' to the latter who clearly writes: 'He [Muḥammad Sādiq] studied under Shaykh Fā'iz, who died A.H. 1022.' *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1883), Vol. III, p. 1009.

73. *Tabaqāt*, f. 377.

74. *Ibid.*, ff. 377-377b.

to derive inspiration from his cherished memory.¹ He dealt at length with the life and achievements of the Khwāja in his (now lost) work, the *Silsilat al-Sādiqīn*² and devoted quite a few pages³ of the *Kalimat al-Sādiqīn* also to the description of the attainments and aphorisms of his preceptor. All his writings, and particularly the poems⁴ he composed on the occasion of the Khwāja's death, speak eloquently of his extreme respect and reverence for the deceased saint.

Abu al-Mu'ayyid Radī al-Dīn Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llah bin Qādī 'Abd al-Salām Khalījī Qurayshī Samarqandī was born at Kabul, on 5th Dhu al-Hijja 971/15th July 1564.⁵ He was a precocious but introverted child. His father who himself was known for his piety and learning, did everything possible to ensure his proper upbringing. In 978/1570-71 when Maulānā Sadiq Halwā'i, a pre-eminent scholar from Samarqand, passed through Kabul on his way back from the Hijaz,⁶ Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm—the younger brother of the Emperor Akbar, requested him to stay in Kabul and hold classes there. The Maulānā's stay in Kabul was a windfall for the local students and Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llah was included among those who attended his lectures. When the Maulānā departed for Samarqand, Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llah also accompanied him. But he had not yet completed his education in external sciences, under Maulānā Sadiq Halwā'i, when he was possessed by a divine ecstasy.⁷ He abandoned his studies and set out in search of a spiritual guide.⁸ During his wanderings he met many renowned saints and even performed penance under the direction of some of them including Khwāja 'Ubayd, Shaykh Ifukhār and Amīr 'Abd Allāh Bakhū.⁹ But for some reason or another he failed to acquire spiritual solace in Transoxiana and decided to come down to India.⁹ Some of his friends (*Aqrān*) who were already in Lahore and held influential positions in the military, out of consideration for his material welfare, offered to help him get a similar job. He declined their offer and instead

1. *Kalimat*, Persian Text, p. 193.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-196.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 193-6.

5. *Sīrat*: Bāqī quoted in *Risāla Kauthar*, pp. 191-92, *EJ* s.v. 'Bāqī Bi'llah'. The earliest biographies of the Khwāja do not give any specific date of his birth, rather, they give an approximate year of his birth, i.e. 971/1563-64. See Zubda, pp. 5, 127, *Hakkarūt*, Urdu tr., Vol. I, pp. 215-216.

6. *Tubaqāt*, I, 270.

7. *Zubda*, p. 6.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9-10.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

continued the search for a spiritual preceptor. In his quest he ignored the severities of the weather, he disregarded the frailties of his physique and the entreaties of his mother to pay heed to his failing health fell on his deaf ears. Nevertheless, his steadfastness gave way when his heart was captured by a handsome youth. His infatuation with this youth gave him some respite in the midst of his pursuit. After the departure of the latter, the pangs of separation distracted his attention but ultimately he emerged from this crisis with a redoubled zeal.¹⁰ He went as far as Delhi and then wandered to Kashmir, where he spent about two years in the company of Bābā Wālī. Bābā Wālī was a distinguished saint from Transoxiana who had arrived in Kashmir sometime in 999/1590-91 and was poisoned there in 1001/1592-93, at the instance of Murzā Yādīgār.¹¹ After his death Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llah resumed his travels and ultimately went back to Samarqand and joined the company of Maulāna Khwājagī Amkanagī (d. 1008/1599-1600).¹² The Maulāna initiated him formally into the Naqshbandiyya order, kept him under intensive personal care for three consecutive days and nights, and then bade him go back to India and spread the Naqshbandiyya order there.¹³ Back in India, the Khwāja stayed in Lahore for about one year,¹⁴ before proceeding to Delhi in 1008/1599-1600, where he died on Saturday, the 25th Jumadā II, 1012/30th November, 1603.¹⁵

Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llah laid great stress on *Shari'a*, exhibited extreme respect and reverence for *Sayyids* and scholars, and in all matters, great and small, sought the advice of the jurisconsults.¹⁶ Conversation about mundane matters was strictly prohibited in his presence and slandering was out of the question.¹⁷ If somebody disregarded the injunction of the *Shari'a*, the Khwāja would not reprimand him directly but rather would convey his disapproval through metaphors and parables.¹⁸ Another thing he always paid great attention to was the lawfulness of the means of livelihood. He would spare no effort to make sure that his food was procured from religiously¹⁸ allowed sources. He possessed a pleasant

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

11. *Ta'rikh-i A'zamī*, p. 110.

12. *Tabaqāt*, f. 236b.

13. *Zubda*, pp. 12-13.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

15. *Biography*, f. 63., *Kalimat*, Persian Text, pp. 162-3, *Zubda*, p. 32.

16. *Zubda*, p. 15.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

sense of humour, and in his dealings with others was very compassionate, kind and humane¹⁹ Once, during his stay in Lahore, when that city was visited by a famine out of concern for the starving population the Khwaja did not eat anything for several days²⁰ Whether his concern extended to the Hindus also who in normal circumstances were an eyesore to him, is open to speculation. In an eye-witness account of the last days of his life, compiled by an anonymous devotee, we read that one day before his death, when his condition became alarming, a Hindu physician was sent for. Instead of causing any relief, the appearance of the Hindu physician created an indescribable turbulence in the Khwāja's soul, signs of abhorrence appeared in his otherwise composed countenance, and to show his displeasure, he turned his back on the physician. At this juncture, Khwāja Husām al-Dīn explained that it was with the approval of the Khwāja's mother that the Hindu physician had been called. On hearing the name of his mother the wrinkle disappeared from the Khwāja's forehead and he regained his normal state²¹ This incident not only shows the great respect that the Khwāja entertained for his mother, but also reveals the low esteem in which he held the Hindu community.* Apparently, he belonged to that segment of *Sufis* who laid more emphasis on "Islamising the Muslims"²² than proselytizing the Hindus.

19 *Katimāt*, Persian Text, p. 162

20. *Zuhda*, p. 20. A similar incident about Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' is also recorded in the *Sayr al-Auliya'*, p. 128. Also see *Katimāt*, Persian Text, p. 44

21 *Biography*, I 47

* His contemporary in the Punjab Maulānā Hajjī Muhammad commonly known as Naushah Gang Bakhsh (959-1064/1552-1654) also evinced the same attitude towards the majority community when he said

بوشہ ہندو چور ہے گلان لے چورا
ایہاں نہ آؤں پاس دہہ ایہاں پاس نہ جا
مول نہ ایہاں ہال مل ملی نہ دہہ مسجد
ایہ سب گل دے چور ہے بھٹہ ایہاں دہہ پیار
کافر سدی دوسری کفرے دین تباہ
جہیہ نون لہا ملے کسی فقیر لوشاہ

See his *Ganj Sharīf Panjābī*, ed. Sayyid Sharīf Ahmad Sharāfat Naushāhī, Lahore, 1980, pp. 6-7

22 See *ibid.*, ff. 26-28.

True to long-standing Naqshbandī tradition of associating with the ruling hierarchy,²³ the Khwāja also cultivated close contacts with the Mughal elite who, to quote Abdul Qadir,

constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of art and morals and manners were diffused among the lower classes. The habits and customs of people, their ideas, tendencies, ambitions, their tastes and pleasures, were often unconsciously fashioned on this model. The peerage acted as the conduit-pipe for this stream of influence. ²⁴

The Khwāja used the "peerage" not only for the dissemination of his ideals and moral teachings but also for the amelioration of the conditions of his followers. He succeeded in laying a solid foundation in India for the Naqshbandīyya order, which continued to flourish even after his death.

Khwāja Bāqī's meteoric career as a mystic – his sudden arrival in Delhi, the number of devoted disciples he produced in a relatively short period of time and his premature death at the age of forty – was like a cloudburst that falls in a boundless desert on a band of thirsty and tired travellers, lends them a new lease of life, and disappears.

Besides a great number of devotees and disciples, Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bī'llāh was survived by two sons, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh and Khwāja 'Abd Allāh. Both were infants at the time of their father's death and were brought up under the care of Khwāja Husām al-Dīn.²⁵ They grew up to become great exponents of their father's teachings. Sādiq Hamadānī, who knew them from their early days, writing in 1048/1638-39, remarks

Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh [generally known as Khwāja Kalān], had drunk deep at the fountain of holiness and was adorned with piety and good moral character. His attainments in the field of knowledge, particularly in poetry and *belles-lettres* were commendable. His *œuvres* included a hagiological work about the Companions of the Prophet and the saints of Islam down to his own time, which exhibited his erudition and industry in full measure. His brother Khwāja 'Abd Allāh [commonly called Khwāja Khurd] was also a man of many parts. He was fully proficient in mysticism and had a sound grounding in meta-

23. See *ibid.*

24. 'The Cultural Influences of Islam', *The Legacy of India*, ed. G. T. Garratt (Oxford 1938 repr.), p. 297.

25. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 183-4. *Zubda*, p. 80.

physics, scholastic theology and rhetoric. His company always had a beneficial effect on his associates and went a long way in the improvement of their mystical achievements. He was averse to hoarding anything for the morrow. After meeting the bare necessities of his family he would distribute everything among the deserving. He shunned association with nobles and grandees, but always felt at home in the company of the poor, the needy and the indigent. It seemed that he would become a lamp that would illumine the whole world.²⁶

V. HIS CONTEMPORARIES

A cursory glance at the hagiographies will reveal that *Sūfī* hospices and convents, if on the one hand they provided a rendezvous for the Muslim elite and intelligentsia, on the other they were islands and oases of mental peace and spiritual solace for the huge masses of the underprivileged and the downtrodden in society. The *Khānqāh* of Khwāja Muḥammad Baqī B. 'llah was apparently no exception to this rule. Sadiq Hamadānī who, to quote the Mujaddid, called himself a *Pir parast* (Worshipper of the Preceptor), must have come across a large cross-section of people in the *Khānqāh* of his *Pīr*. Moreover, his close contacts with such distinguished scholars as Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī, whose students spread from Kashmir to Lahore and Bīhar, and his spiritual ties with such prominent *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Bāqī B. 'llah as Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Sanbhālī, Shaykh Husam al-Dīn, Miyan Shaykh Iahdad Amrōhagī and last but not the least, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, cannot have been ineffectual in extending the range of his friends and acquaintances. Moreover, he had acquired an early taste for the company of the learned, that too would have done much to help him cultivate relations with countless of his contemporaries. But unfortunately, out of negligence or sheer modesty, as with other aspects of his life, he has not left us any detail in this regard. The following information, however, about his contemporaries, which is mainly gleaned from his own works, besides placing him in the right perspective, throws invaluable light on the social milieu and the mood of his times.

26. *Tabaqāt*, ff. 410-410b.

The contemporaries of Sādiq Hamadānī can be divided into three main categories:

- (1) *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh and their followers;
- (2) Other devotees and disciples of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh; and
- (3) Miscellaneous: *Sūfīs*, Scholars and Poets.

(1) *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh and Their Followers

(i) Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī

The senior most companion of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Sanbhalī, was actually a disciple and *Khalīfā* of Sayyid 'Alī Qiṣam's²⁷ *Khalīfā*, Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh. It was during his wanderings in India before settling in Delhi that Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh met him for the first time in the company of Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh, in the vicinity of Sanbhal. Shaykh Tāj wished to have the Khwāja initiated at the hands of his preceptor, Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh, but the Khwāja could not make up his mind. Nevertheless, he was deeply impressed by the piety and devotion of Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh and the sincerity of Shaykh Tāj. Thereafter the Khwāja left for Transoxiana. Meanwhile Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh died, and when the Khwāja returned to Delhi Shaykh Tāj went there and joined his company. He was the first among the companions of the Khwāja who were allowed to enrol disciples and guide them in the Naqshbandiyya order²⁸. After his investiture as *Khalīfā*, he went back to Sanbhal but continued to visit the Khwāja at regular intervals.

Shaykh Tāj was endowed with a unique ability to transform others. Whomsoever he graced with his attention was overtaken by rapture and self-annihilation instantaneously.²⁹ After the death of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh he set out on a journey of India and Kashmir, and subsequently went to the Hijaz³⁰. There also he travelled extensively, propagated the Naqshbandiyya order and deputed his *Khalīfās* in Makkah, Madinah and the Yemen. He sent them to some distant Arabian islands too. Ultimately he settled in the Hijaz and enjoyed much respect and reverence among the natives.³¹ He was alive at least until the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*

27. He was an eminent disciple of Shaykh Barā' al-Dīn Jaunpūrī, who traced his spiritual lineage to Shaykh Naṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Chiragh-i Dihlī (d. 707/1308). Most of his time was spent in mystical ecstasy. He died in 950/1543-44. A.A., pp. 225-226, *Zubda*, p. 122.

28. *Zubda*, p. 71.

29. *Ibid.*, *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 396.

30. *Zubda*, p. 76.

31. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 396.

in 1048/1638-39

His son-in-law, Sayyid Mahmūd Amrōhagī, who came from a noble family, was also a very brilliant young man. He had attained proficiency in external sciences at a relatively young age. Impressed by his virtues, Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī gave him the hand of his daughter and spared no effort to add lustre to his intrinsic qualities. But before he could see the results of his labour, Sayyid Mahmūd died in 1037/1627-28.³²

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān was another brilliant and favourite disciple of Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī. When Shaykh Tāj returned to Sanbhal after his investiture, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān was one of his first disciples, and he soon astonished his preceptor with his rapid strides in the mystical path. The excited Shaykh informed Khwaja Muḥammad Baqī Bi’llāh that a very bright young man had fallen into his trap. “Come yourself and bring that brilliant young man along”, was the Khwāja’s reply. Accordingly, the preceptor and novice both set out for Delhi to see the Khwaja. The Khwāja was also impressed by the capabilities of the young neophyte and bestowed on him special favours which, in turn, made him all the more firm in his devotion to the Naqshbandiyya order. At the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqāt*, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān was leading a life of isolation in Sanbhal.³³

(ii) Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn

He was born in 977/1569-70 at Qanduz in Badakhshān and came to India with his father, Qādī Nizām al-Dīn Badakhshī, in 983/1575-76. Qādī Badakhshī, whose forefathers had long been associated with the Tirmūrid kings and had performed meritorious services under them, was received with open arms by Akbar.³⁴ He conferred on him the title of Qādī Khān, which was consequently changed to Ghāzī Khān.³⁵ By the time of his death in 993/1584-85, the Qādī had become one of the favourite courtiers of the Emperor.³⁶ After his death, Akbar extended his patronage to his son, and, in keeping with the established norms of the court, bestowed on him a rank of three hundred as a first step to future promotion.³⁷ Abū al-Faḍl offered the hand of his sister to the

32. *Ibid.*, f. 410b.

33. *Ibid.*, ff. 406b-407.

34. *Ibid.*, f. 400b.

35. ‘Allāmī Abū al-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma* (Calcutta 1886), Vol. III, pp. 106-109.

36. *Zubda*, p. 78.

37. *Tabaqāt*, f. 401.

young *Manṣabdār*³⁸ and by the time Khwāja Husām al-Dīn was dispatched to the Deccan expedition with Khān-i Khānān ‘Abd al-Rahīm Khān, he held the rank of 1000.³⁹ However, the grandeur of the imperial camp and court could not hold his attention for ever. It was during his stay in the Deccan that the transformation came about and, bidding farewell to mundane pomp and show, he hastened to Delhi and, despite opposition from Abū al-Faḍl,⁴⁰ became a disciple of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi’llāh.⁴¹ Bāqī Bi’llāh in the course of time invested him with the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandiyya order but, except on one occasion, he never enrolled a disciple. In 1012/1603 when Khwāja Bāqī Bi’llāh fell ill, Khwāja Husām al-Dīn was the only senior *Khalīfa* who was present at the *Khānqāh*.⁴² So he served his preceptor during his lifetime and arranged his obsequies after his death. The burden of running the main *Khānqāh* in Delhi and bringing up the children of Khwāja Bāqī Bi’llāh also devolved upon him.⁴³

Sādiq Hamadānī, who cherished a very deep regard for Khwāja Husām al-Dīn, has bestowed lavish encomiums on him, both in the *Kalimat*⁴⁴ and the *Ṭabaqāt*.⁴⁵ which reflect his strong faith in the latter’s spiritual powers. Out of the many letters that he received from the Khwāja from time to time Sādiq Hamadānī has reproduced two in the *Kalimāt*.⁴⁶

Khwāja Husām al-Dīn died at Akbarabad in 1043/1633. His body was brought to Delhi and was buried near the tomb of Khwāja Bāqī Bi’llāh. Sādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on his death.⁴⁷

جور حسام الحق از حباب بگذشت حصص دین را اساس محکم رفت
بدر و حد اهل آیان بود مظهر روح و شیت و آدم رفت
ببرد و حید دوران شد نبلی وقت و این ادهم رفت

38. *Zubda*, p. 79.

39. Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhirāt al-Khawāsim*, ed. Sayyid Muḥsin al-Jaqq (Karach, 1961), Vol. I, p. 242.

40. *Zubda*, p. 79.

41. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 401.

42. *Zubda*, p. 80; also see *Biography*, f. 47b.

43. See *infra*, pp.

44. Persian Text, pp. 184-187.

45. F. 401b.

46. Persian Text, pp. 184-186-7.

47. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 401b.

حج مرور بود دیدن او برکات مدام و رزم رفت
 یار بیچارگان حسنه نماند اهل دین را ایس و خدمت رفت
 گف تاریخ هوش اهل دلی از قطب زمان ر عالم رفت

Šūfī Gada ‘Alī was a close associate of Khwāja Husām al-Dīn. Actually he was a devotee of Mullā Yār Muḥammad Fathpūrī⁴⁸ and was employed in the army where he held the rank of *Ahadī*. Subsequently, he relinquished the government job, took to a life of indigence and resigned himself to the care and company of Khwāja Husām al-Dīn at Firuzabad, in Delhi. No matter whether he was in government service or not, he did not change his routine of contenting himself with the bare necessities of life and distributing everything else to the poor. He died in 1040/1630-31 and was buried beside the tomb of Khwāja Muḥammad Baqī Bi’llāh, near Qadam Sharīf. Sādiq Hamadani recited the following chronogram on this occasion:⁴⁹

بردگی دورده حه می نوی معرور
 نکت حکمت زندگی و عمر حمله وهم و خیال
 بماند صوف صافی که علی بحال
 سطر ی دل سوریده روزگار بیان
 چو سال دهنی او را رعل برسدیم
 بگفت عقل که ده از برگ بیک حاصل

(iii) Shaykh Ilahdād Amrōhagī

He was one of the trusted disciples of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi’llāh and his association with the Khwāja went as far back as the latter’s first visit to Lahore, before finally settling down in Delhi.⁵⁰ Shaykh Ilahdād was known for his severe ascetic austerities. During a period of five or six days he would consume a negligible amount of victuals, otherwise he was almost continually in a state of fasting,

48. He was a distinguished disciple and *Khawāṣṣ* of Qāḍī Taraṣīn Balkhī (d. 1013/1604-06). His gatherings were famed for their mystical tumult. He was always in a state of spiritual rapture that would sometimes get hold of the whole audience also. He died in 1037/1627-28. *Tabaqāt*, ff. 348b., 404b.

48/A A common foot-soldier. See Ibn Hazan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi, repr., 1967, p. 37.

49. *Tabaqāt*, f. 411.

50. *Zubda* p. 87.

meditation and self-scanning (*Muhās ba*)⁵¹ The Khwāja viewed the mystical achievements of the Shaykh with approval, as was illustrated by the fact that when the former decided to go back to Transoxiana, during his stay in Lahore, he entrusted his disciples to the care of Shaykh Iḥdād⁵² While in Delhi also, the maintenance of the Naqshbandīyya *Khānqāh* and the upkeep of its inmates was Shaykh Iḥdād's responsibility⁵³ At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, in 1048/1638-39, he headed the Naqshbandīyya *Khānqāh* and was the only surviving senior companion of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh.⁵⁴

The relations between Miyān Shaykh Iḥdād and Khwaja Husam al-Dīn were very warm and cordial Whosoever approached the Khwāja for initiation or wanted to learn *Dhikr* and meditation, the latter would refer him to Miyān Shaykh Iḥdād⁵⁵ Among his disciples Mullā Mubārak Kanbō, of Delhi, occupied a very prominent position. He was a distinguished scholar and in learning and erudition was a peer of Shaykh Muḥammad Mudarris Dihlāwī The Mulla had learnt at Akbarabad the sciences that were not usually taught at Delhi After the acquisition of worldly knowledge, he developed a taste for mysticism and became a disciple of Shaykh Iḥdād He led a saintly life in Delhi, where he died in 1040/1630-31.⁵⁶

(iv) Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī:

The most prominent of the Khwāja's disciples and *Khallfas* was Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī Kabuḥ Farūqī, generally known as *Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thānī*. The Reviver of the Second Millennium He was born at Sirhind, in the Punjab, on 14th Shawwāl 971/26th May 1564⁵⁷ His father was deeply read in traditional as well as speculative sciences, and was a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Gangōhī⁵⁸ He had also benefited from the benedictions of several other saints⁵⁹ including Shaykh Kamāl

51. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 407

52. *Zubda*, p. 87.

53. *Ibid.* pp. 87-88.

54. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 407

55. *Zubda*, p. 88.

56. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 421b.

57. See *Zubda*, p. 127, *Ḥadārāt*, p. 31, E.I. iv 'Ahmad Sirhindī'; *Rūd-i Kauthar*, p. 222. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 202.

58. *Zubda*, p. 92. *Ḥadārāt*, pp. 28-29 Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn was the son and successor of the famous Chishtī saint, Shaykh Abd al-Qāddūs, of Gangohi, who died in 944/1537 He obtained the Qādiri ordination from Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Ḥujjī al-Qādiri (d. 953/1546-47) who was the most distinguished scholar of his time in Delhi. Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn died in 983/1576. See *Zubda*, pp. 101-102., G.A., f. 152.

59. See *Zubda*, pp. 103, 109, 113.

Qādirī Kaṭhālī.⁶⁰ Having committed the Holy Qur'ān to memory at an early age, Shaykh Ahmad commenced his formal education under the patronage of his father. For higher studies, however, he went to Sialkot⁶¹ and sat at the feet of scholars as renowned and distinguished as Shaykh Kamāl Kashmīrī,⁶² Shaykh Ya'qūb Sarfī⁶³ and Qāḍī Buhlūl Badakhshānī.⁶⁴ At the age of seventeen he returned to Sirhind, fully proficient in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory, and set himself the task of teaching and imparting instruction to his students. Around the age of twenty⁶⁵ he went to Agra and mixed with the intellectual elite of the capital, including Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl and his elder brother, Shaykh Fayḍī, whose eclectic tendencies, however, did not strike a favourable chord in the Shaykh's heart.⁶⁶ When his stay in Agra was prolonged, his father also followed him, but before long the father and son were back in Sirhind, busily teaching and writing treatises and tracts on theological and polemical subjects.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the Shaykh perpetually profited from the spiritual graces of his father and obtained from him permission to enrol disciples in the Chishtiyya and Qādirīyya orders.⁶⁸ In 1007/1599, his father breathed his last and the following year Shaykh Ahmad set out for the pilgrimage (*Hajj*)⁶⁹ On reaching Delhi, as mentioned earlier, he was attracted to the company of Khwaja Muḥammad Baqī Bīllāh.⁷⁰ The Khwaja received him very courteously and, contrary to his practice, asked him to put off his journey to the Hijaz and stay with him for a month, or at least for a week.⁷¹ The Shaykh agreed to stay for a week, but hardly two days had elapsed when he felt impelled to perform penitence at the hand of the Khwaja and to acquire the Naqshbandī ordination from him.⁷²

60. They met each other in the assembly of Shaykh Jalāl Thānīsārī (d. 989/1581) who was an eminent *Khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī. Shaykh Kamāl belonged to the Qādirīyya order of mystics and had attained full perfection in spirituality. He died in 981/1573-74, and was buried in Kaithal, a township of Sirhind. *Zubda*, pp. 103-108.

61. *Zubda*, p. 128.

62. See *supra*.

63. He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Husayn Khwārazmī Kabrawī and a very prominent scholar of the reign of Akbar. He died on 18 Dhī-Qa'd 1003/25th July 1595. See *Zubda*, p. 128. *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 142-148, Eng. tr., pp. 200-209.

64. He was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman Fahd, who was an eminent *Muhaddith* of the Hijaz and belonged to a distinguished family of *Muhaddithin*. See *Zubda*, p. 128.

65. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 206.

66. *Zubda*, pp. 131-132.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

68. *Zubda*, p. 133, 134, 136, *Hadarāt*, pp. 28-29.

69. *Zubda*, pp. 122, 128.

70. See *supra*.

71. *Zubda*, p. 139.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Seeing him eager the Khwāja responded favourably and imparted to him the method of Naqshbandī *Dhikr*, and thereby ushered in a new era of spiritual solace, peace and tranquility in his life. The Shaykh stayed for three months at the Naqshbandī *Khānqāh* and then returned to Sirhind.⁷³ Before his departure, the Khwāja, besides giving him a complete code of ethics, conferred on him the robe of *Khilāfat* and allowed him to enrol disciples.⁷⁴ Not only that, but as a mark of his confidence in his spiritual attainments, he transferred some of his own disciples to Shaykh Ahmad's care and supervision.⁷⁵ Back in Sirhind, the Shaykh underwent a severe internal turmoil: a strong desire to lead a life of complete solitude and the preceptor's advice to continue with a life of academic pursuits were in sharp contrast with each other. The latter prevailed, and he taught and trained disciples for a while before calling on the Khwāja for the second time. It was during his stay in Sirhind this time that Shāh Sikandar, the grandson of Shaykh Kamāl Karthalī, conferred on him the latter's spiritual robe and allowed him to initiate disciples in the Qādiriyya order.⁷⁶

His third and last visit to Khwāja Hāqī Bi'llāh took place about seven or eight months before the latter's death.⁷⁷ When the news of his arrival in Delhi reached the Khwāja, despite his frail health and weak physique, he hastened to receive his favourite disciple, half way to the *Khānqāh*.⁷⁸ One day, while the Shaykh was still there and other disciples were also in attendance, the Khwāja sent for his infant sons, Khwāja 'Abd Allāh and Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh. When they were brought in, the Khwāja cast an affectionate glance at them and, addressing the audience, remarked, "They are orphans", meaning thereby that his days were numbered.⁷⁹ How long the Shaykh stayed with his preceptor on this occasion, is unknown. After his return from Delhi, he stayed for some time in Sirhind and then, at the instance of the Khwāja, proceeded to Lahore where a large number of people were attracted to his assemblies.⁸⁰ He was still at Lahore when the news of his preceptor's death arrived and he rushed to Delhi, whence he went to Sirhind and lived there until he died on 28th Safar 1034, 10th December, 1624.⁸¹

73. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

74. *Biography*, f. 36-36b., *Kalimāt-i Tayyibāt*, f. 122a, quoted in the *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 209, fn. 1.

75. *Zubda*, p. 146.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

77. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 182.

78. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 211.

79. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 182. Also see *Zubda*, p. 155.

80. *Zubda*, p. 157.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 159; *Hadarāt*, p. 208.

Among the *oeuvres* of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, his letters (*Makrūbāt*), wherein he mainly answered questions from his correspondents and expatiated upon different aspects of mystical experience, are considered to be his *magnum opus*.⁸²

Ṣādiq Hamadānī, both in the *Kalīmāt al-Ṣādiqīn*⁸³ that he wrote during the lifetime of the Mujaddid (1023/1614), and the *Tabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*⁸⁴ (1048/1638-39) which he compiled after his death (1034/1624), referred to him in very reverential terms. His relations with the Mujaddid's descendants, disciples and *Khalīfas* were also cordial and he noticed the following of them in the *Tabaqat*.

(a) Khwāja Muhammad Sa'īd Fārūqī Sirhindī

The second son and successor of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, Muhammad Sa'īd Faruqī was born in 1005 1597. After the completion of his education under the care of his father, his elder brother Muhammad Sadiq (d. 1025/1616) and Mullā Ṭahur Lahaurī,⁸⁵ by the age of seventeen he had become a scholar by all standards. He taught difficult texts like the *Hikmat al-'ayn*, the 'Aḡuddī and the Bayḍawī with great proficiency. He had written glosses on the *Mishkāt* and his annotations on the *Hashīyya-i Khayālī* were read with interest and profit.⁸⁶ According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, he was an embodiment of perfection both in theory and practice and his main occupation was the guidance of his followers in the Naqshbandiyya order. His brother Muhammad Ma'sūm was also well known for his attainments. The relations between the two brothers were very warm and cordial. Both of them taught and imparted mystical instruction to their devotees and disciples, in a mosque situated next to their house in Sirhind, and lent splendour and grace to the virtues of piety, probity, abstinence and the fear of God. Their younger brother, Muhammad Yahyā, had also completed his education and spiritual training at their feet and was counted among the scholars of his time.⁸⁷

82. The mystical revelations expounded by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī in his *Makrūbāt* aroused a great deal of concern and controversy among his contemporaries and the subsequent generations of scholars, both in and outside India. They are engaging the attention of the modern scholarship as well. For details see S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Agra 1965), Shaykh Muhammad Ikram, *Rūd-i Kauthar* Fifth edition (Lahore 1970), pp. 222-379, and Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal and London 1971).

83. Persian Text, pp. 187-92.

84. Fl. 403, 407, 421.

85. See *infra*.

86. *Hadarāt*, p. 234.

87. *Tabaqāt*, ff. 407-407b.

(b) Khwāja Muhammad Sīddīq Kāshimī

He was a disciple of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Brīllāh. After the latter's death, like so many other disciples of the Khwaja, he also passed under the spiritual supervision of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He practised a great many ascetic austerities over a long period and became blessed with full perfection in mystical flights. It was at this stage that Shaykh Ahmad bestowed on him the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order and dispatched him to Delhi. In external sciences also Khwaja Sīddīq was fully accomplished and his attainments in poetry and *belles-lettres* were excellent. In earlier days when he was still in military service, most of his spare time was spent in the poetical gatherings arranged by Khan-i Khanān 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān, wherein such renowned poets as Nazīmī (d. 1021/1612-13) and Shakībī (d. 1020/1611-12) also participated. Subsequently, when the passion for spiritualism overpowered him, he abandoned poetry altogether, came to Delhi and made his abode in the company of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī. Khwāja Sīddīq died in 1050/1640-41. Sādiq Hamadānī composed three chronograms on this occasion, two in verse and one in prose.⁸⁸ One of the versified ones is as follows.

گلستان فصائل میر صلیح که در عجم و غم بود است کامل
ز حلاق و ر اوصاف شریک هر دهنه اند او را بر حاصل
بهران و بهم و به پیش بود اسرار همه مشکل
بسال یکبار و سحر از غیب بهر مرگ بر دی گسب مار
مه سوال بود و دور شبهه که در دنیا بعضی گسب مایل
ر پیر عقل جسم سال هوش حگر صد باره باره داع بر دل
دیر عمر با یک نوک حمامه نوشته آه آن کار فصائل

Khwāja Muhammad Sīddīq's son, Muhammad Fāruq, who emerged as a brilliant poet during the reign of Shāhjahān, was also known to Sādiq Hamadānī. Muhammad Fāruq was a very promising lad, and he made his way into the assemblies of the reputed nobles and grandees of his time at a relatively early age. Afdal Khān 'Allāmī⁸⁹ is reported to have remarked that he had met with a great many scholars and poets both in India as well as in Transoxiana but he did not find any of them

88. *Ibid.*, f. 413b margin.

89. See *infra*.

so versatile as Faruq. Consequently, at the instance of the 'Allāmī, Fārūq was created a noble by Shāhjahān and was deputed to the province of Kabul so that he could have an easy and affluent life and devote the maximum time and energy to exercising his talents. Soon after his appointment there, Faruq endeared himself to Nawwāb Sa'id Khān, the governor of the province. Side by side with his literary activities, however, he paid full attention to the welfare of the local people and left no stone unturned to ameliorate their conditions.⁹⁰ The following couplets were composed by him

مسب گشتم نه باده بود نه جام صید کردی نه دانه بود نه دام
یار از برم ما بحر برحاب صبح ما بار رخت جاب سام

(c) Mīr Muhammad Nu'mān Kishmī

He was a favourite disciple of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bī'llāh. After the death of the Khwāja, he also joined the company of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī who conferred on him the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order in 1018/1609-10 and ordered him to go to Burhanpur.⁹¹ Soon he settled in Burhanpur and became very popular among the people. He stayed there for some time and then decided to pay a visit to his preceptor, Shaykh Ahmad, in Sirhind. During his absence all his devotees in Burhānpūr rallied round his relative, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's *Khalīfa*, Khwāja Hāshim Kishmī. When Mīr Nu'mān got back to Burhānpūr from Sirhind, he found the whole scene changed. Failing to find a sufficient following in that town, he left Burhanpur to Khwāja Hāshim and came to Akbarabad, where he was still alive at the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqat*.⁹²

(d) Khwāja Hashim Kishmī

He was a prominent *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He learnt meditation and other basic teachings of the Naqshbandīyya *silsila* from Mīr Muhammad Nu'mān. In 1031/1621-22, the Shaykh summoned him to Sirhind and kept him under his personal supervision continuously for two years.⁹³ When he was fully accomplished in his spiritual attainments the Shaykh invested him with his *Khilāfat* and applied him at Burhan-

90. *Tabaqāt*, I 431

91. *Hadarāt* p. 303

92. *Tabaqāt*, I 411, Cf. *Hadarāt*, pp. 304-305

93. *Hadarāt*, p. 392.

pur, where he died in 1041/1631-32 at the age of forty⁹⁴

(e) Shaykh Ṭāhir Badakhshī

Initially he was in the military service but later as the result of an ecstasy took to the life of a *Qalandar*. On hearing the fame of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh he hastened to Delhi, but before his arrival the Khwaja had already passed away. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī was in Delhi at that time, hence he joined the fold of his disciples. His continual occupation with Naqshbandī practices was rewarded, and ultimately he was raised to the status of a *Khalīfa*. After his investiture he went to Jaunpur and settled there. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* he was still alive and very popular among the people. According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, once he called on the Emperor Jahāngīr and impressed him favourably with his uprightness and veracity. On the accession of Shāhjahān, he again visited the court and benefited from the imperial bounty⁹⁵

(f) Mullā Ṭāhir Lāhaurī.

He was one of those distinguished scholars whom Shāhjahān appointed to teach at Lahore. He learnt the external sciences from Mullā Jalal Talawī Lahaurī⁹⁶. After the completion of his education he suddenly developed a taste for mysticism and became a disciple of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He spent a considerable time in strenuous spiritual exercises before he was invested with the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order. Thereafter, he took to a life of complete detachment from the world and settled at Lahore, where he died in 1038/1628-29.⁹⁷

(g) Shaykh 'Abd al-Hayy Patnagī

He was a favourite disciple of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He was famous for his perseverance in the path of spiritual poverty (*Faqr*) and his attainments in both the formal and the essential aspects of *Sūfism*. Before his elevation to the position of a *Khalīfa*, he spent several years in the company of his preceptor and traversed different stages of the mystical path under his direction. He compiled the second volume of the *Maktūbāt* of the Shaykh. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*

94. *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 411. Also see *Hadarat*, pp. 368-383, Muhammad Baqā', *Mīrāt al-'Alam*, MS., British Museum, Ad. 7657, f. 495b.

95. *Ibid.* ff. 413b-414, *Hadarat* pp. 340-343.

96. See *supra*.

97. *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 421. Also see *Hadarat*, pp. 319-326.

he was in Patna, guiding the people in their spiritual endeavours.⁹⁸

(h) Shaykh Nūr Patnagī:

He was a disciple of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He led a very simple and austere life and was averse to any sort of association with worldly people. Although the *Khilāfat* was bestowed on him earlier than Shaykh 'Abd al-Hayy, he did not show much zeal and enthusiasm after his arrival in Patna. However, when Shaykh 'Abd al-Hayy was also invested with the *Khilāfat* and repaired to Patna, Shaykh Nur found in him a very good friend and through him became acquainted with other people also. Shaykh Nūr had a smattering of *Fiqh* and *Hadīth* and if any of the seekers after Truth approached him for guidance, he did not grudge assistance and initiated him readily.⁹⁹

(i) Shaykh Badī' al-Dīn Sahāranpūrī

Initially he was employed in the army, but when he acquired the taste for mysticism he joined the company of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī and learnt from him the Naqshbandī *Dhikr*. He also practised many of ascetic austerities before he was invested with the *Khilāfat* of that order. Thereafter he went to Saharanpur and occupied himself with the guidance of the people. Towards the end of his life, however, he grew averse to social life and retired to solitude. He died in 1045/1635-36.¹⁰⁰

(j) Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī

He was a favourite disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He joined his company at the age of fifteen¹⁰¹ and continually remained in his service for seventeen years.¹⁰² After the Shaykh's death, he compiled his biography called the *Haqarāt al-Quds*, wherein he recorded the following three chronograms composed by Sādiq Hamadānī, at the death of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī.¹⁰³

فریاد ر گردش رمایه بیداد ر دست جور ایام

Sādiq Hamadānī, however, does not mention him in the *Tabaqāt*.

98. *Tabaqāt*, I, 414b. Also see *Haqarāt*, pp. 366-368.

99. *Tabaqāt*, I, 415. Also see *Haqarāt*, pp. 311-314.

100. *Tabaqāt*, II, 403b-404.

101. *Haqarāt*, p. 386.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

قطب رشاد سبح احمد که بود بخلق فیض او عام
 در ماه صفر به بیست و هشتم یگدست در دهر بی سر انعام
 از رفتن او در بیدلان رفت یکباره قرار و صبر و آرام
 شد روز وصال عارفان شب شد صبح مهیّد طالبان شام
 تاریخ وفات و برآمد هجری فتاده برج اسلام

✽ الولی لا یموت بل ینقل الی المنزل الابدی

✽ الموت هو جسر یوصل المحیب الی المحیب

(2) Devotees and Disciples of Khwāja Baqī Bī'llāh

(a) Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq Dihlawī.

The eldest son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī, Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq, was deeply read in formal and essential sciences and enjoyed the full confidence of his father. He was very fond of saints and divines, but his devotion to Khwāja Baqī Bī'llāh knew no bounds. The Khwāja was also very charitable towards him. Several chronograms were composed on the death of the Khwāja but none was so steeped in emotion and marked with elegance and grace as the one composed by Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq.¹⁰⁴ On his accession to the throne, Shāhjahān, who cherished great regard for him, appointed him the *Qādī* of Akbarābād. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, the Shaykh still held that position and discharged his duties very conscientiously.¹⁰⁵ Ṣādiq Hamadānī has reproduced the following verses of his in the *Ṭabaqāt*:

شب ساقی از آن یاده که در جام طرب کرد
 آتش یعجم در زد و تاراج عرب کرد
 مستانه بد مان تو دستی رده بودیم
 این عقل جبول آمد و تنقین ادب کرد
 گفتم گشایم از دل اندوهگین گره
 ناخن بسود تا کف و بگشود این گره

104. *Biography*, ff 67b-68b.

105. *Ṭabaqāt*, f 419, Ghulām 'Alī Azād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthir al-Kirām* (Lahore 1971), p. 46; *Mīrat al-'Ālam*, MS. f 455.

(b) Maulānā Jamāl Talawī Lāhaurī

Maulānā Jamāl who belonged to Tala, a famous quarter of Lahore at that time, was a real prodigy. He started teaching at the age of eight.¹⁰⁶ He was a pupil of Mulla Ismā'īl of Ūch, and had also received instruction from other teachers. He was fully conversant with the traditional as well as the speculative sciences, and had a good delivery and could speak unambiguously. He was renowned from his masterly exposition of different texts. According to Badāyūnī, the correction and arrangement of the Qur'ānic exegesis *Sawānī' al-Ithām*, of Fayḍī, was principally his work.¹⁰⁷

The Maulānā generally showed deep regard to the dervishes but towards Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh his attitude was particularly characterized by extreme humility.¹⁰⁸

(c) Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Dīwī

He was one of the leading lights among contemporary scholars and was particularly celebrated for his virtuosity in *Fiqh*, *Usūl* and rhetoric. He wrote a book about principles of jurisprudence which matched with *Talwīh* in authenticity and was looked on as a standard work on the subject. By disposition he was modest and did not like futile wrangling and argumentation. After the completion of his education, he spent some time at the feet of Khwaja Bāqī Bi'llāh and greatly profited from his spiritual grace. Once he called on the Emperor Shahjahan who, out of appreciation for his sterling human qualities, conferred on him the office of the *Muḥṭṭ* of the royal camp. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, the Mullā still held that office. In his spare time he conducted classes and imparted instruction to his students.¹⁰⁹

(d) Ja'far Bēg Thānagī:

He was a very learned and scholarly noble, and his achievements

106. *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 105-106, Eng. tr. pp. 156-157. Badāyūnī refers to him as Maulānā Jalāl while all subsequent authorities mention his name as Mulla Jamāl, which seems correct. See *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 369b, *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 32, 185, *Bādshāh-nāma*, ff. 425, 426b, *Aḥḥ'at al-'Alam*, MS., f. 453.

107. *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 105, Eng. tr., p. 157, *Ḥaḍarāt*, p. 32.

108. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 369b. According to *Bādshāh-nāma* (f. 426b) the date of his death is contained in the Arabic phrase — *Tamat al-Im* (1011, 1602-1603).

109. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418. He received instruction in external sciences from Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Lāhaurī (d. 1039/1629-30). See *Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 426b.

were remarkable especially in calligraphy and *belles-lettres*. He served in the imperial army for several years and was included in the *Mansab-dārs* of the Emperor Akbar. His brilliance did not fail to attract the attention of the monarch but owing to his impudence and nonconformity with the new trends at the court he soon fell into disgrace. Tired of his previous life he inclined towards mysticism, joined the company of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh and became one of his disciples. He practised a great many spiritual austerities and became so infatuated with his new way of life that when Jahāngīr, after his accession to the throne, summoned him to his court and offered to bestow on him a *Mansab*, he did not accept it. He appears to have been held in high esteem in orthodox circles. He died in 1026/1617-18. Ṣādiq Hamadānī indicated the year of his death with the Persian phrase ¹¹⁰ *سنة ۱۰۲۶*.

(e) **Hāfiz Jalāl al-Dīn Rā'ī of Patna**

Although he was a disciple of Khwāja 'Abd al-Shahīd¹¹¹ he also had spent some time in the company of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh which did much to enhance his spiritual achievements. He was endowed with an angelic nature and enjoyed the reputation of a great divine. He died in 1037/1627-28.¹¹²

(f) **Shaykh Ahmad Khirī,**

He was an old, experienced and favourite disciple of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. He died in 1045/1635-36. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following the chronogram on this occasion:¹¹³

سید	حمد	یگانه	دی	ر	بری	ار	حوشی	و	دلگیری
ریده	ل	حمد	مرسل	لانی	مفتدنی	و	پیری		
صرف	کرده	براه	حق	طبی	کودکی	و	جوسی	و	پیری
داشتند	سندمتی	عجبی	حون	جید	و	چو	شلی	و	حیری
صادقی	گفت	سال	رفت	او	ار	جیان	رفت	احمد	کھیری

110 Ibid., I, 403.
 111 Ibid., I, 417.
 112 Ibid., I, 417.
 113 Ibid., I, 403.
 114 Ibid., I, 403.
 115 Ibid., I, 403.
 116 Ibid., I, 403.
 117 Ibid., I, 403.
 118 Ibid., I, 403.
 119 Ibid., I, 403.
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(g) Miyān Qāsim Jaunpūrī:

A descendant of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Ansārī, Miyān Qāsim Jaunpūrī was possessed of a unique state of ecstasy, and a strange rapture characterized the whole of his life. Nevertheless, he did not let this hinder him from carrying out the obligations enjoined by the *Sharī'a*. He was a leading light of the Qādiriyya and the Chishtiyya orders of his time and a great many miracles were attributed to him. There was no place whatsoever for worldly people in his heart. He was an exquisite poet and his verses were marked by elegance and grace. He died in 1039/1629-30.¹¹⁴ His son Miyān Shaykh Ni'mat Allāh was given to the pursuit of Truth from his childhood. In 1007/1598-99 he came into contact with Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh who imparted to him the secret of Naqshbandī meditation. The effect of this esoteric exercise soon became apparent in his countenance and the signs of resignation and self-effacement began to emerge in his personality. The Khwāja always looked upon him favourably.¹¹⁵

(h) Mullā Ahmad Gūjar.

He had a smattering of jurisprudence and knew something about other theological sciences also. It was during his student days that he heard of the Khwāja's virtues and became his disciple, and devoted all his time to the service of his preceptor. The Khwāja also treated him affectionately. After the Khwāja's death he returned to his native place where the local population thronged around him and insisted on initiation. Nevertheless, he shunned the company of worldly people and spent his time in deserted and desolate places. He died in 1027/1617-18.¹¹⁶

(i) Maulānā Ya'qūb Thānagī

He was an outstanding, intelligent and good-natured student of Maulānā Jalāl Talawī of Lahore. After the completion of his education, when he heard the fame of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh's spiritual accomplishments, he abandoned everything and hastened to the company of the Khwāja, who initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya order. He experienced strange ecstasies and apocalypses and the Khwāja always called him a madman (*Dīwāna*). After the death of the Khwāja he continued to stay with the sons of his preceptor until 1025/1616-17, when he went to

114. *Ibid.*, f. 406.115. *Ibid.*, f. 406b.116. *Ibid.*, f. 378.

his native place, Thāna Bhīm, where he fell ill and died.¹¹⁷

(j) Sayyid Muṣṭafā Bāghīpat:

A pious and holy man, he sat for years on the prayer carpet of his ancestors and helped people establish communion with God. On hearing of the fame of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bī'llāh he bade farewell to his own sainthood, hastened to see the Khwāja, and requested of him the *Nisba* of the Naqshbandiyya order. His request was granted and he soon gained proficiency in that order too. When satisfied with his attainments the Khwāja allowed him to go back and start afresh the task of guiding the people. He died in 1037, 1627-28. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion.¹¹⁸

دیدى که چه سیدی مصطفی بود تا چشم بهم زدی کجا رفت
آن قدوة خاندان سادات و آن ربه برم اولیا رفت
پیش نظر مست هر چند از پیش نظر یار سرا رفت
تربیع وفات وی بحسب از مردن وی جو ماحرا رفت
هو ۵۰۰ و گف حدیثی ای دلکی که سید مصطفی رفت

(k) Shaykh Murtaḍā Sanbhalī

A disciple of Khwāja Bāqī Bī'llāh, Shaykh Murtaḍā Sanbhalī was experienced and scholarly. He was very fond of *Ṣūfī* aphorisms and had a special style of their narration. Sometimes he composed verses too. When he first approached Khwāja Bāqī and requested initiation, the Khwāja told him that he deemed it imprudent to accept any new disciples but if he would, he could recommend him to Shaykh Tāj or Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. Nevertheless, he did not lose hope and instead wrote a versified letter to the Khwāja wherein the following couplet was also included:

بدلداران دیگر نیست کارم مرا با دلستان خویش کار است

His letter brought home to the Khwāja his sincerity of purpose, humility and modesty, and he agreed to initiate him. Soon after he was initiated, the Naqshbandiyya *Nisba* so overpowered Shaykh Murtaḍā that

117 *Ibid.*, f. 377

118. *Ibid.*, f. 368.

Introduction

he traversed the distance of months in days and attained full perfection in a relatively short time. He died in 1046/1636-37. Šādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion.¹¹⁹

شیخ ارباب طریقت مرصعی هل دوی آنکه محبوب محبت بوده و معیوس عشق
در جوئی نفس را در راه حق چو کشته بود گمت سال رحلتش پیر حرد مقتول عشق

(l) Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn:

Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn bin Miyan Shaykh Quṭb-i 'Ālam learnt the external sciences from his father but he owed his spiritual enlightenment to Khwāja Muhammad Baqī Bi'llāh, who taught him different tracts on mysticism. Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn died in 1029/1619-20, in Burhanpur, whence his body was carried to Delhi and buried there.

(m) Shaykh 'Abd al-Latīf Gujarātī.

With two intermediaries between, he was a disciple of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. He was very fond of the *Mathnawī* of Maulana Jalāl al-Dīn Rumī and wrote an excellent commentary on that work. He also compiled a very lucid exposition of the *Ḥadiqat al-Haqā'iq* [Haqiqa?] which evoked great interest in the academic circles. Shāh-jahan conferred on him the office of the controller of salaries for the whole of his empire (*Shāhib-i tan-i mamālik-i Hindūstān*), in which capacity he paid close attention to the welfare of the people and won over their hearts. At the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqat* in 1048/1638-39, he still held that position.¹²⁰

(n) Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāhid Ajōdhani

He was an elderly *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī, had met many divines, and was equally well versed in the theory and practice of *Sufism*.

119. *Ibid.*, f. 413b.

* *Shāhib-i Tan-i Mamālik*, was probably the same as the *Dīvān-i Tan* who "was responsible for the payment of salaries to the servants of the state whether in cash or in the form of assignments upon the revenues of certain areas called *āgār*. It was his duty to prescribe an area which would yield the amount of the salary to the assignee so that neither he nor the state should be a loser." See Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi, 1966, p. 75.

120. *Tabaqat*, f. 423.

His attitude towards Khwāja Baqī Bīlāh was one of extreme devotion and veneration. The Khwāja also showed him great respect and regard. He died in 1019/1610-11.¹²¹

(3) Miscellaneous The *Sūfīs* The Scholars and the Poets

(i) The *Sūfīs*

(a) Shaykh ‘Abd Alāh Bhutta

He was an elderly Qādirī saint with a charitable disposition and a great love for the company of dervishes. He guided the people in the path of God for many years. Whoever called on him was given food and a *bulbulī** by the Shaykh. Having heard of his fame, Jahangir summoned him to his court. At the very sight of the Emperor, the Shaykh whispered some divine acclamations and clapped his hands. On being asked the reason for what he had done, he replied that he had prayed to keep misfortunes off. The Emperor let him go unmolested. According to Sādiq Hamadani, this was nothing less than a miracle, because very few dervishes could escape the wrath of that distrustful (*ghaṭīr*) Emperor.¹²² The Shaykh died in 1037/1627-28. Sādiq Hamadani composed the following eulogium on this occasion.¹²³

دربند سیم خدیوہ (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) خور بودہ بگہ
 اس عظمیٰ و سبوح قدوسیہ میں بودہ اسب در عہد سہادہ
 و خور در شہار طلب ابدال بیک سعادت بودی لب از میادہ
 نام جاری شد درہر صادق علمدہ حادہ بودہ
 بر حق حسودان توس بگشاوی ر سیم رمدہ

(b) Shaykh Husayn Kamāngar

A disciple of Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī,¹²⁴ Shaykh Husayn Kamāngar was a distinguished saint and a capable scholar in his own

121. *Ibid.* f. 367b.

* A synonym for *Paṭm* and *Dem*, a Mughal coin weighing 1 *tola* 8 *mashas* and 7 *sarkhs*, which constituted a fortieth part of the *Rupiya*. See Blochmann, p. 32.

122. *Ibid.* f. 361b. Sarandaz Khan Qamāq, an imperial *Mansabdar* under Jahangir, was a devout follower of Shaykh Bhutta to whose *Ahangar* he contributed a substantial financial assistance every year. See Shaykh ‘Abd Bhakkari, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīm*, ed. Syed Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1974, Vol. III, p. 59.

123. *Tabaqāt* f. 361b.

124. For his life see *A.A.* p. 215. *A.A.* f. 94v. *Aqimāt*, Persian text, pp. 113-6.

right. During the annual 'Urs* of his Pīr he visited Delhi regularly and stayed with the sons of Shaykh Sulaymān Sādiq Hamadānī, who had met him several times, reports that during the year Khusrau rose in rebellion against his father, Shaykh Husayn Jāmī¹²⁵ had warned the Emperor beforehand that a great calamity was in the offing. On hearing of this warning Shaykh Husayn Kamāngar conveyed it to some of the courtiers who informed the Emperor accordingly, so that when the calamity did descend he staved it off successfully. Meanwhile Khusrau raised the standard of revolt and the whole kingdom was plunged into chaos and disorder. But soon, as prophesied by Shaykh Kamāngar, the rebellion subsided and law and order was restored. The fulfilment of the Shaykh's prediction greatly enhanced his prestige so that the king and his ministers also entered into the fold of his devotees. Shaykh Kamāngar died in 1018/1609-10.¹²⁶

(c) Shaykh Mustafā Nānauta

Son of Shaykh Ahmad Nānauta, he was also a disciple of Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī. He was possessed of a very pleasant disposition and had a strong yearning for musical gatherings and spiritual ecstasies. His conversation beamed with zeal and enthusiasm, and at the same time was suggestive of his internal anguish and grief. He was an excellent poet. Sādiq Hamadānī had met him and profited from his spiritual blessings.¹²⁷

Shaykh Mustafā was survived by four sons. One of them, Sayyid Sābir 'Alī, whom Sādiq knew thoroughly, and who subsequently changed his spiritual robe for a courtly gown and joined the imperial army, was renowned for his altruistic nature and humane and kindly temperament. He was quite outstanding in the domain of mysticism and the pursuit

* "A term used for the ceremonies observed at the anniversary of the death of any celebrated saint or *murshid*." Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, Lahore repr., n.d., p. 655.

125. Shaykh Husayn Jāmī appears to have been a favourite saint of Jahāngir. He informed Jahāngir six months before his actual accession to the throne that he would become the king. Similarly, on the occasion of Khusrau's rebellion in 1605, he seems to have warned the Emperor beforehand. The Emperor, who had already sent a bounty of 5,000 rupees to the saint after his accession to the throne, after the suppression of the rebellion gave him twenty *lakhs* of *dams*, equivalent to 30,000 or 40,000 rupees, for the expenses of himself and his monastery and the dervishes who were with him. (See *Tuzak*, Eng. tr. pp. 30-46, 7-72.) According to Sādiq Hamadānī, the Emperor also bestowed upon him the *Pargana* of Chamari. Shaykh Husayn died in 1023/1614-15 (*Jahagīr*, f. 350).

126. *Tahaqūt*, f. 362.

127. *Ibid.*, f. 363b.




of the divine path. He composed exquisite verses in both Persian and Hindi.¹²⁸

(d) Shaykh Arzānī Patnagī.

He was known for his saintly nature. Some people had great faith in his spiritual achievements and even attributed miracles to him. During the reign of Jahāngīr he came to Delhi and visited the saints of the town. During his sojourn in Delhi, Ṣādiq Hamadānī met him more than once. But seemingly he failed to discern in him the many virtues for which people usually praised him. He died in Patna.¹²⁹

(e) Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī:

He was a distinguished notable of Delhi who was known for his good moral character and charming personality. He died in 1018/1609. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion.¹³⁰

د ر بی صبری بهجت  ر سیدی حرج کبود
 ریدہ سادات مقام شہید  اودار سی رجب و
 سال وفاتش بہ مہ و سال  ہر دم لہر ماہ رجب رجب بود

(f) Shaykh Kamāl Mutawakkil

He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām Nāmaulī (d. 997/1588-89).¹³¹ and was adorned with many virtues. His life was characterized by complete resignation to the will of God. He distributed the offerings, as and when they were received, and did not keep even a single penny for the morrow. His fondness for the musical sessions was also excessive and once in them, he was so overwhelmed by ecstasy and danced so violently that even the young could not hold him, though in ordinary circumstances he could not move unaided because of weakness and old age. In keeping with the tradition of his spiritual preceptors, he never showed respect to, nor expected anything from anybody. He died in 1025/1616-17 and left two sons behind, Shaykh Bāyazīd and Shaykh Tāhā. The former died in the prime of youth while the latter not only succee-

128. *Ibid.*

129. *Ibid.*, I, 364b.

130. *Ibid.*

131. For notices of his life, see *M.T.*, Vol. III pp. 26-28, Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 44-45, G.A., I, 251b.

Introduction

ded his father but also surpassed him in many ways, especially in resignation. In popularity also he left him far behind.¹³²

From the day he succeeded his father, Shaykh Tāhā turned his back on all worldly creatures, and in keeping with the tradition of his predecessors, never showed any respect to divines either. His son Qā'im Muḥammad was also equally precocious and promising.¹³³

(g) Shaykh Kamāl Kashkī:

He was the son of Shaykh Ḥajī Dihlawī Qādirī, a *Khālifa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna and son of the latter's spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan, also known as Shāh Muḥammad Khayālī. He sat on the prayer carpet of his father and carried on the task of the spiritual refinement of his devotees for many years. Complete detachment from the world and utter resignation to the will of God, were the two hallmarks of his life. He died in 1024/1615-16. In the same year Shaykh Qutb al-'Ālam, son of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz also passed away. The latter was quite distinguished in both esoteric and exoteric sciences. Sādiq Hamadānī discovered the chropogram of their death in the Persian phrase¹³⁴ 'آه شیخین دہلی'.

(h) Khwāja Khawand Mahmūd

A descendant of Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, Khwaja Khāwand Mahmūd was one of the earliest luminaries of the Naqshbandīyya order in India. He was celebrated for his spiritual accomplishments and his devotees were spread all over Transoxiana, Badakhshan and Kashmir. His achievements in the external sciences were also commendable. He was blessed with a knack of guiding people and miracles were attributed to him. He conferred the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order on many of his disciples and constructed a *Khānqāh* in Kashmir where he lived and guided the people.¹³⁵ He died at Lahore, in 1052/1642, and was buried near the Shālīmār gardens.¹³⁶

132. *Tabaqat*, f. 365.

133. *Ibid.*, f. 407a.

134. He composed a chronogram also on this occasion. See *ibid.*, f. 368; *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 144.

135. *Tabaqat*, f. 396. *Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 421-421b.

136. Muḥammad Mu'īn al-Dīn, *Mir'at-i Tayyiba*, Radī Libr. Rampur MS., p. 236.

(i) Shaykh Pīr Mīrathī

An aged saint of the Shattāniyya order, with a strong penchant for ecstasy and musical auditions, Shaykh Pīr Mīrathī took great pains to arrange the 'Urs gatherings of his ancestors. He had met many saints and profited from their blessings. He was famous for his Hindī amulets that were believed to be very effective. He died in 1040/1630-31. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion.¹³⁷

سبح پیران سب رزق ربان عبد	آنکه از دولت فقرش بهاشد نعمه
تا که آن سیح طریقت رحبان گمرا	رفت و از رفتن او بشت دوتا شد نعمه
رواق سارحه شد ریب وار کجاست	بکجا رفت غیا و بکجا شد نعمه ؟
گفت تاریخ وفاس حرد دور مدیس	وہ کہ ر مردن وی ہی سروپا شد نعمه

(j) Sayyid Aḥmad Qādirī

In the beginning of his mystic career he practised devotional exercises which bore fruit and he became very popular. Then he went to the Hijaz, and associated with Shaykh Muḥammad Bakrī.¹³⁸ Seemingly he was quite illiterate but his knowledge of mystic niceties was so adroit that hardly any scholar would know them. Having heard of his divine virtues, Akbar grew fond of him, summoned him to his court and made him an offer of service under the crown. He welcomed the offer, joined the imperial army, and became one of the nobles of the court. Subsequently, he rose to the office of the *Sadr*, which he occupied during the reign of Jahāngīr also. Aged and senile, in the time of Shāh-jahān, he requested retirement, after which he settled in Delhi, where he died in 1039/1629-30. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion.¹³⁹

که نام او بحسکی و بری رفت	کهال الحق میرن سید احمد
ازین عالم مبرا و بری رفت	حو عرم عالم حاوید بسود
وئی قادری رفت	ر پیر عقل جستم سال فوتش

137 *Tabaqāt*, f. 402b

138. Muḥammad Bakrī was a celebrated Egyptian scholar who visited Makkah every year and theological gatherings there. He died in 993/1585 (*Tabaqāt* f. 239).

139 *Tabaqāt* f. 405b: *Walī-i Qādirī raft* (1041) exceeds by two the year of his death (1039) mentioned by Ṣādiq Hamadānī.

Sayyid Ahmad Qādirī was survived by four sons. Two of them, Sayyid Hidāyat Allāh and Sayyid Faḍl Allāh, were well educated. They were known for their charitable dispositions and most of their time was spent in the company of scholars.¹⁴⁰

(k) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn:

He was the quintessence of piety, purity and politeness. Most of his time was occupied with meditation and recitation from the Qur'ān. He led a life of complete detachment from the world. His benedictions were reputed to have possessed a healing effect and a capability to accelerate the fulfilment of prayers.¹⁴¹

(l) Shaykh Sayyid Ghulām Muḥammad Nānauta

The son of Shaykh Ghulām Muṣṭafa Nānauta, Sayyid Ghulām Muḥammad Nānauta, had a strong penchant for ecstasy and mystical auditions and it was under the spell of one of these ecstasies that he ultimately died in 1041/1631-32. Ṣādiq Ḥamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion.¹⁴²

جد ای نفس می شوی | ~~میرود~~ | ~~بگش~~ | هر و جاء و امیالت
غایت زیر خاک | ~~باید رفت~~ | ~~گر~~ | در گردون گذشت احلال
دوره چرخ صد هزاران گشت | ~~بچه~~ | ~~ز~~ | تو بهر و حد مثال
باد کن باد کن | ران دوری | که بگرهید بر تو اطعالت
دیده بگشا ر خوب و جسم نال | که چسان کرده | حرج پامال
کو علام محمد ان سحی | که ارو بود حل سکات
فخر اولاد سید کوین | صاحب وجد و صاحب حال
در نعم او بعقل میگفتم | کی ریاده | ر حصر فصاحت
سال تاراج همت او بر گو | که دهنوی بود | ار ان سال
بعد نکسال عقل دور ادیش | بهره رد ، گفت | فاب فی الخالت

140. *Ibid.*, f. 406.

141. *Ibid.*, f. 406b.

142. *Tabaqāt*, ff 408-408b.

(m) Sayyid Muhammad Gūjarātī:

He traced his descent from Shāh 'Ālam Gujarātī¹⁴³ who was a *Qutb* of his time and was celebrated for his spiritual attainments and miraculous deeds. Sayyid Muhammad was possessed of many virtues and good qualities. His warm disposition and genteel manners had won him many friends which included people of all ages and from all walks of life. He was the author of many useful books and treatises. His verses were also beautiful. He died in 1042 1632-33, during the reign of Shāhjahān¹⁴⁴ He was succeeded by Sayyid Jalāl Gujarātī whose pre-eminence as a saint was, according to Sādiq Hamadānī, as much beyond doubt as his descent from the Holy Prophet. Miracles were also attributed to him. He appears to have been in the beginning of his saintly career at the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqāt*, and according to Sādiq it looked as though he would become a lamp that would illumine the whole universe¹⁴⁵

(m) Mīr Ibrāhīm Husayn

A Sayyid with authentic pedigree, possessed of all the elements of formal as well as essential knowledge, Mīr Ibrāhīm Husayn had a unique schedule in his everyday life which he stood by very scrupulously. He started his day with meditation and self-scanning (*Muhasiba*) which was followed by the recitation from the Qur'ān and the saying of prayers which continued until the middle hour between sunrise and the meridian (*Chāshī*). Then he started the perpetual recitation of the *Darūd*, a solicitation invoking the mercy of God for the Prophet Muhammad and his descendants. Having finished with it, before retiring for a siesta, he partook of his food in the company of dervishes and the poor. After the siesta was over, he renewed his ablutions and got ready for the afternoon prayers. After the prayer he sat in the company of divines and even during his association with them he made sure not to be forgetful of the Almighty for a fraction of a second.¹⁴⁶

(o) Shaykh Kamāl Māndowī

He was a grandson to Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī. Shaykh Sulay-

143. His original name was Sayyid Muhammad but generally he was known as Shah 'Ālam. He was a very popular saint. He died in 890, 1475, at the age of sixty-three and was buried at Rastlābād, a suburb of Ahmadabad, Gujarat (G.A. f. 99)

144. *Tabaqāt*, I, 409.

145. *Ibid.*

146. *Ibid.*, f. 410.

mān fathered two sons, namely Shaykh Dā'ūd and Shaykh Maḥmūd. Shaykh Dā'ūd died in the prime of his youth while his brother acquired full perfection under the care of his father and outlived him. On his death his son, Shaykh Kamāl stepped into his shoes and took over the task of disseminating the spiritual beatitude of his illustrious grandfather. He was well known for his command of both esoteric and exoteric sciences. Especially in the latter his virtuosity was commendable. He died in 1033/1623-24.¹⁴⁷ Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following two chronograms on this occasion

شیخ کمال ماسقوی کز کف خود و همش
 بر در آستان او حاتم و معش" سد گدای
 پس که شیوع میمنت کرد رمان و بحلی
 ناد میسکند کسی دولت سایه مهدی
 بود بمصل برری قدوه صغیای دفا
 یافت ریحین محاب، ساحه در بهشت حای
 در پی سال خوب او سر سهاد فکرم
 بر سر زالوی حجاب در آستان رای
 میر کجوترین ملک گیاره گفت که تبحر مطب بود
 حاتم غیب مصره رد ا شبح کمال های های

•

او بود اما حای ر عم و بود برهر مهر برای
 گونی که فرسته زمین بود ن بیک سرست پاک حلال
 تاریخ وفات و حرد گفت ی دای که مطب رفت ر آفاق

Shaykh Kamāl was survived by four sons, Shaykh Abū Muḥammad, Shaykh Abū Aḥmad, Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim and Shaykh Abū Sa'īd. Shaykh Abū Muḥammad was the eldest among his brothers and succeeded his father. Although he was a samī, he also possessed all the mundane glories and honours as well. His esteem was very high with Shah-jahān, who conferred on him the office of the *Sadr* of Delhi. By his

147. *Ibid.*, f. 362b.

* Ma'an bin Zā'ida bin 'Abd Allāh al-Shaybānī, nicknamed Abū al-Walīd (d. 152/769), a renowned Arab governor of Sistan, proverbial for his liberality. See Anonymous, *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, ed. Maḥk al-Sha'arā' Bahār Tehrān, n.d. pp. 143-47.

judicious policies and evenhanded dispensation of justice he fully justified his appointment to that exalted position. The fame of his generosity, magnanimity and selflessness spread far and wide. He entertained members of the ruling class and the learned at magnificent feasts and was respected by all sections of people.¹⁴⁸

Shaykh Abū Aḥmad fasted continually and was renowned for his piety and strong moral character. Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim was possessed of a very pleasant nature and held a *Manṣab* at the imperial court. Shaykh Abū Sa'īd was employed in the army. His generous nature and piety were fully discernible in his countenance.¹⁴⁹ All the four sons of Shaykh Kamāl were alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, and its author, who had cordial relations with that family, appears to have known each of them individually.

(p) Khwāja 'Abū al-A'la Ahrarī

A descendant of Khwāja 'Abd Allah Ahrār, Khwāja Abū al-A'lā, was initially employed in the imperial army but when divine ecstasy possessed him he turned his back on government service and became a disciple of his father-in-law, Mir 'Abd Allah Ahrarī. Mir 'Abd Allah spared no effort to explore his potentialities and gradually transformed him into a perfect *Sufī*. By the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* spiritually he had become so strong that whoever approached him, came to be possessed by ecstasy and chose to stay with him voluntarily.¹⁵⁰

(ii) The Scholars

(a) Mullā Muhibb 'Alī Sindhī

Mullā Muhibb 'Alī, who flourished during the reign of Shāhjahān was a renowned scholar and saint. He hailed from the Kūhbar tribe of the Chaghatā'is. His grandfather, Mirza 'Alī Bēg, came to India in the company of Bābur Padishāh and laid down his life in the battle against the Afghāns. His son, Ṣadr al-Dīn later went to Thatta with the army of Humāyūn and subsequently settled there. Mullā Muhibb 'Alī was also born there. Although he lost his father at an early age, the Mullā did not lose hope and continued with his studies. Later on, when Thatta acceded to the Mughul empire, he came to India with Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān and settled in Burhanpur. At the young age of thirty years he acquired a taste for seclusion and decided to go on pilgrimage.

148. *Ibid.* f. 409

149. *Ibid.* f. 363.

150. *Ibid.* f. 415b

On his way to the Hijaz, at Surat, he met with Shaykh Faḍl al-Allāh Burhānpūrī who conferred on him a spiritual robe and allowed him to enrol disciples. On his return from the Hijaz, the Mullā settled at Burhanpur. When Shahjahan went on the first expedition to the Deccan after his succession to the throne, he joined the imperial camp and accompanied the Emperor.¹⁵¹

Mullā Muḥibb 'Alī was a very enthusiastic preacher of Islam. Whosoever embraced Islam at his hands he took to the imperial court and procured for him grants and monetary rewards. According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Shāhjahān was so enamoured with the Mullā's enthusiasm that he decreed that whosoever from amongst the infidels (*Kuffār*) wanted to accept Islam should do so at the hands of the Mullā. Consequently, the Mullā converted a great many people to Islam and procured for them stipends and pensions from the imperial court.¹⁵²

In 1047/1637-38, when India was hit by a severe drought, the Emperor asked the pious and devout to offer a public prayer for rainfall. Among others, the Mullā was also called upon to do so.¹⁵³ At the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqāt*, he was still alive.

(b) Afdal Khān 'Alāmī

Before his appointment as the Prime Minister to the Emperor Shāhjahān, he was generally known as Muzā Shukr Allāh, and most of his time was spent in imparting instruction to his students, in Burhanpur. He taught for several years and many of his students rose to great eminence. When Shahjahan appointed him as his Prime Minister (*Jumlat al-Mulk*) he dedicated himself to the care and well-being of the people. His pleasant manners and axiomatic virtues were liked by everybody. Ṣādiq Hamadānī remarks that if the Prime Ministers like Nizām al-Mulk and Ibn al-'Abbād, who were celebrated for their patronage of learning, were alive in his time, they would have learnt the art of administration and running the government from Afdal Khān 'Alāmī.¹⁵⁴

151. *Bādshāh-nāma*, MS., f. 422.

152. *Tabaqāt* ff. 412b-413.

153. *Bādshāh-nāma*, MS., f. 4, 2b.

154. *Tabaqāt*, f. 415. He was a pupil of Mīr (brāhm) Hamadānī and Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī. Shāhjahān chose him as his Prime Minister and bestowed upon him the *Manṣab* of 7,000 (*Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 424b).

(c) Maulānā Muhammad Fādil Badakhshī:

He learnt the traditional and ratiocinative sciences from Maulānā Ṣādiq Halwā'i and his contemporaries in Samarqand and Bukhara and became so distinguished in them that very few scholars in Iran, Transoxiana and India could match his attainments. In mysticism he got his initiation at the hand of Maulānā Khwājagī Amkanagī. According to some reports, he was allowed by his preceptor to enrol disciples too, but he always concealed his spiritual achievements under the guise of external sciences. He was alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*.¹⁵⁵

(d) Qaḍī Aslam Harawī:

Born in Harat, at an early age he left for Bukhara, whence, after the completion of his studies in theological sciences, he came to India during the reign of Jahāngīr. The latter appointed him the *Qaḍī* of the imperial camp. This office he retained even during the days of Shāhjahān and he led all the five congregational prayers in which the Emperor also participated.¹⁵⁶ At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was the *Qaḍī al-Qudāt* (Chief Justice) of India. Ṣādiq Hamadānī admired his piety, sense of justice and his readiness to help others. According to him, the Qaḍī was a great source of strength to the Muslims.¹⁵⁷

(e) Mullā 'Abd al-Hakīm Siyātkōtī:

He was one of the most pre-eminent scholars of his time. He received his early education at the feet of Mulla Kamal Kashmīrī and during the reign of Jahāngīr confined himself to a simple and austere life in Siālkot. When Shāhjahān ascended the throne, he invited the Mullā to his court and bestowed honours on him. Thereafter, the Mullā occasionally visited the court, but he mainly occupied himself with the teaching at Siālkot and Lahore, where students from different parts of the country thronged to his lectures and benefited from his erudition and scholarship.¹⁵⁸ According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, the Mullā entertained great regard for the *Sūfīs* and dervishes and his attitude towards them was characterized by extreme modesty.¹⁵⁹

155 *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 416b. He was a pupil of Mullā Mirzā Jān Shīrāzī and Mullā Yūsuf Kāshī. He also received instruction from Mullā Jamāl Talawī of Lahore (*Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 425).

156. *Ibid.*, f. 424b, *Mīrāt al-Ālam*, MS., f. 454.

157 *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 417b.

158 *Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 425. Also see *Mīrāt al-Ālam*, MS., f. 454.

159 *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 416b.

(f) Shaykh Abū al-Makāram:

Son of Shaykh Mubārak Nagāūrī and brother of Abū al-Faḍl and Fayḍī, Shaykh Abū al-Makāram was an orthodox Muslim. In contrast to his brothers and other members of family, he had a strong inclination towards probity, piety and fear of God. His accomplishments were, however, mainly in the external sciences. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'an in the Hanafīte tradition which enjoyed great popularity. He died in 1044, 1634-35.¹⁶⁰

(g) Miyān Muḥammad Shākir Dihlawī:

A descendant of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī, Miyān Shākir had learnt the external sciences from Shaykh Quth 'Alam, son of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz, and was considered to be one of the most eminent scholars of Delhi. He was celebrated for the purity and propriety of his disposition. But lack of courtesy and politeness badly marred his personality. Nevertheless, his students were very fond of him and in attendance his *Madrasa* was unparalleled in the whole of Delhi.¹⁶¹

(h) Shaykh Muḥammad Mudarrīs Dihlawī:

He was celebrated for his erudition and learning. He exhibited extraordinary zeal for the education and welfare of his students who invariably rose to great heights and brought a good name to their teacher. His father, Shaykh Buhlul, was famous for his excellent attainments in *Hadīth* whereas Shaykh Muḥammad Mudarrīs specialized in other sciences.¹⁶²

(i) Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī Akbarābādī

He had an admirable knowledge of the Arabic classics and was well accomplished in *Jafr*,¹⁶³ arithmetic and mathematics. He wrote many treatises on these subjects which were looked upon as standard works. His *Tafsīr* of the Qur'an was particularly held in high esteem.¹⁶⁴

160. *Ibid.*, f.419, margin.

161. *Ibid.*, f.419b.

162. *Ibid.* f.420.

163. See *supra*.

164. *Ṭabaqāt*, f.420.

(j) **Mir Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī Khaikhlāī**

He was a very distinguished scholar of his time. Shāhjahān appointed him in one of the *Madrasas* of Akbarabad, where he taught for a short period before his death in 1040. 1630-31. At the instance of his friends he wrote a treatise on the *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and this, according to Sadiq Hamadānī, superseded in depth and dimension all earlier works on the subject.¹⁶⁵

(k) **Shaykh Waḥīd al-Dīn.**

He completed his education and mystic training at the feet of his father, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn, who was one of the leading saints of his time. When his father died the mantle of succession fell on his shoulders. Equipped as he was with the knowledge of the theory and practice, he discharged this responsibility with great efficiency and integrity. According to Sadiq Hamadānī, he had success written in his face.¹⁶⁶

(l) **Shaykh Hamīd Gūjar.**

Shahjahān had appointed him as a teacher in one of the *Madrasas* at Lahore. He was quite distinguished in external sciences until suddenly possessed by divine ecstasy. Then he abandoned teaching and started wandering in search of saints and divines.¹⁶⁷

(m) **Shaykh Rafī‘ al-Dīn Kanbō:**

He hailed from a family of nobles, in Delhi. In erudition and learning he was considered to be on a par with such reputed scholars as Muhammad Mudarris and Shaykh Mubārak Kanbō. He acquired the knowledge of traditional sciences at the feet of Shaykh Muhammad Fā’id¹⁶⁸ and Shaykh Maḥbūb Adāh. He himself also imparted instruction for some time but at the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqāt* he was possessed by mystical notions, had abandoned teaching and used to spend his time in the perpetual recitation of mystical formulae on the bank of the river Jamna.¹⁶⁹

165. *Ibid.* f. 420b.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ibid.*, f. 421.

168. *See supra*.

169. *Tabaqāt*, f. 421b.

(n) Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāshim

The son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāshim was a distinguished scholar. He was deeply read in *Hadīth*, *Tafsīr*, *Sīyar*, *Tawārīkh* and *Asmā' al-rijāl* but his attainments in the last were particularly commended by his father. Other sons of the Shaykh, namely Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī and Shaykh 'Alī Muḥammad, were also distinguished scholars. Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī¹⁷⁰ remembered the Holy Qur'ān by heart and had a very sound knowledge of Arabic and Persian classics. Shaykh 'Alī Muḥammad spent his time in academic pursuits¹⁷¹ and had compiled a dictionary¹⁷² which was a compendium of all the earlier dictionaries.¹⁷³

(o) Ḥakīm Masīḥ al-Zamān

A notable scholar, endowed with a charitable disposition and an attractive personality, Ḥakīm Masīḥ al-Zamān was equally popular with scholars and *Ṣūfīs*, and lavished his favours on them equally. His poetry was of the highest order and as a physician, according to Sadiq Ḥamadānī, he was comparable to Galen and Hippocrates. Nevertheless, he had no pretensions whatsoever and as far as possible, did not accept any patients. On his way to the Hijaz, for pilgrimage, he composed the following couplet while on board the ship

کستی چه که دورجی فرده
یک باب و هزار مرده

The following couplets also were composed by him

کم بدتم و قلمم ابرو ز شیار است
گونی نمر پس رس باغ وجودم

170. The name of this son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī is not included in the genealogical table of the Shaykh's family. See *Mīr at al-Ḥaqq* *iq.* p. 131.

171. For his works see *ibid.* p. 127. The dictionary mentioned by Sadiq Ḥamadānī is not included in the list.

172. The *Jam' al-Jawāmi' at Khazā'in al-Dawar* is meant. Its manuscripts are preserved in the India Office Library, London, and in the Punjab University Library, Lahore. The author compiled it on the instance of his son, Shaykh Abū al-Mafākhīr, and on completion, presented it to his elder brother, Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq (*infra*). It was not dedicated to any 'Mauiawī Khān' as alleged by Shahrīyar Naqawī in his *Farhang-nawīst-i Fārsī dar Hind-o Pākīstān* (Tehran 1341 H Sh.), p. 89.

173. *Tabaqāt*, f. 422.

ما بيدلان به باغ جهان همچو برگ گل
 بهلوی بکندگر همه در خون شسته ایم
 عرق بر عارضش و اعجاز حس است
 که بر آتش کسی نیم تدیده است

He was alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* ¹⁷⁴

(p) Mullā Farīd Munajjim:

He was a notable scholar with a sound grounding in occult sciences such as *Jafr*¹⁷⁵ and astrology. He wrote many tracts on these subjects. Towards the end of his life he compiled an almanac¹⁷⁶ which fully exhibited his erudition and learning. He dedicated this work to Shah-jahān.¹⁷⁷

(q) Sayyid Hamza Sirhindī:

He had studied the science of *Ḥadīth* under Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī. After obtaining permission to transmit this science to others, he went to his native town Sirhind, where he spent most of his time in teaching and other academic pursuits.¹⁷⁸

(r) Mullā Haydar Kashmīrī:

In *Ḥadīth* he was a student of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī. During his long stay at the *Khānqāh* of the Muhaddith, besides other books he studied the *Mishkāṭ* and the *Sahīḥayn* also, and received permission to transmit these texts. Then he went to Kashmir and set himself to the task of spreading the theological sciences in that region. Teaching and guidance of the people occupied most of his time and he was considered to be the greatest scholar of rational and traditional

174. *Ibid.* ff 422b-423.

175. See *supra*.

176. The India Office MS. (f 423b) of the *Ṭabaqāt* reads 'zīj' while the British Museum one (Or. 1673, f. 320b), refers to this work as 'Ta rīkhī' and that is correct. Mullā Farīd Munajjim compiled the history of the first ten years of Shāh-jahān's reign and named it *Shāh-jahān-nāma*. An excellent copy of this work (MS. 283) is preserved in the Salar Jang Museum and Library, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India.

177. *Ṭabaqāt* f.423b.

178. *Ibid.* f.422. For other students of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī see my article 'Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī ke Sitar-e-Taleemadhe' *Oriental College Magazine*, Punjab University, XLVIII (March-June 1972), pp. 309-351.

studies in Kashmir¹⁷⁹

(s) **Mullā Abū al-Khayr Sirhindī:**

Mullā Abū al-Khayr son of Shaykh Bāyazīd, a scholar renowned for his accomplishments in the art of imparting instruction, was an expert both in traditional and speculative sciences. Like his father, he was also a very skilful teacher. His lessons induced deep interest and inspiration in his students and as such, he was the most popular teacher in Sirhind¹⁸⁰

(iii) **The Poets**

(a) **Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāh Karnālī:**

Son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Dihlawī, a scholar who flourished during the reign of Jahāngīr, Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāh Karnālī was quite well versed in poetry, prosody, rhyme and *Mu'ammā*. His skill in the latter was particularly remarkable. His command of language and versatility of expression were fully exhibited in his poetry and *belles-lettres*. The father and son both were excellent poets. The following couplets were composed by 'Abd al-Fattāh Karnālī, who used the sobriquet of Fattahī in his verses

در بهار هر حرن صد مو بهار از حش اوست
جلوه گلزار و دریاغبان در کار نیست

✽

خوس حور و خوس احوال ما کان رلف یار
در چمن سبیل سد و در پای ما در بحیر سد

✽

بکج کلبه بگذارید ما جمع پریشان را
که مرغان نفس پرورد را گلشن بود رندان

He died in 1044/1634-35. Since he was an old and close friend of Ṣādiq Hamadānī, the latter was deeply grieved at his death and composed the following verses on this occasion¹⁸¹

179. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 422b.

180. *Ibid.*, f. 422-422b.

181. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 429b.

شیخ فتاحی کربالی که بود	در بطاعت روبرق کربایان
در عبادتها عذیم، میل بود	در فضایل بود بهکای زمان
صوم داؤدی و ذکری بیم شب	داشتی آن مرد عابد جاودان
تا که ر ملک ما پادی و رید	همچو گن پژمرده و رفت از بوستان
ساز همت از طب کردم ر عقل	ند سراسیمه حرد از درد و
چو شید این واقعه از روی عم	گفت صادق آه سیح عیدین

(b) Jalāy:

He was a native of Delhi and was closely related to Mullā Ammanī Rammāl, the geomancer¹⁸² His actual name was Jalāl and initially he used to employ the sobriquet of Jalālī in his poetry. But with the passage of time when his poetry improved and gained some lustre, he changed his pseudonym to Jalay. His knowledge of Arabic was shallow but he had studied the works of Khaqanī and some tracts on prosody, rhyme, and *Mu'amma* at the feet of Khwaja 'Abd Allāh

In poetry he was a pupil of Mullā Dilbarī¹⁸³ and spent much time in his company. Subsequently, he left the Mullā far behind in that art. At first he was a simple soldier in the service of Nawwāb Afḡal Khān 'Allāmī, but when the Nawwāb noticed his brilliance he included him among his associates. Before long he became a close companion of the Nawwāb. Jalay was alive at the time of the compilation of the *Tabaqāt*¹⁸⁴

VI. HIS WORKS

(1) The *Kalimāt al-Sādiqīn*

The *Kalimāt al-Sādiqīn* of Muḥammad Sādiq Dihlawī Kashmīrī Hamadānī is a hagiological work dealing with the lives of the Muslim *Sūfīs* who lie buried at Delhi. The city of Delhi, situated on the left bank of the river Jamna, is the throbbing heart of the South Asian Subcon-

182. See *ibid.*, ff. 433-433b.

183. See *Tabaqāt* British Museum MS., ff. 327b-328.

184. *Ibid.*, ff. 328-328b.

continent, as it has been for centuries past. At first a fortified outpost of the Ghūrid empire, consequent upon the success of the Muslim thrust to the east, 'with the twin advantages of being a springboard for further advance and a link with the power base in the north-west', it became the natural centre of the Ghurid successor state of Aybak (d. 607/1210) and his Slave dynasty successors.¹ Following in the train of the advancing armies as spiritual advisors to the soldiery and as colonizers of the new territories, many *Ṣūfīs* made their way to India and occupied themselves with the Herculean task of the conversion of non-believers and the worldly-minded within the Muslim community itself.² The subsequent devastation of the Central Asia, Khurasan, Sistan, Mazandaran, the Persian districts of Iraq, and Azarbayjan by Chingiz Khān (603-24/1206-27) and his myrmidons,³ and then the sack of Baghdad (656/1258) at the hands of Hulāgū Khān (654-63/1256-65) brought new tides of immigrants to India. These repeated influxes of Muslim elites from the traditional lands of Islam into India immensely enriched the social, cultural and intellectual life of this country and went a long way to help it establish its own customs, traditions and norms in different spheres of life. The liberal treatment which these new arrivals received at the hands of the local rulers and what they thought of Delhi is best illustrated by the following evidence of Minhāj-i Sirāj, the noted historian of early medieval India, who himself migrated to Delhi in the wake of the Mongol inroads into Transoxiana. Commenting on the reign of Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), he writes:

Towards men of various sorts and degrees, *Kāzīs*, *Imāms*, *Muṣṭafīs*, and the like, and to *darweshes* and monks, landowners and farmers, traders, strangers and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal. From the very outset of his reign, and the dawn of the morning of his sovereignty, in the congregating of eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable Sayyids, Malikis, Amiris, Shāris, and other great men, the Sultān used, yearly, to expend about ten millions; and people from various parts of the world he gathered together at the capital city of Dīlī, which is the seat of government of Hindūstān, and the centre of the circle of Islām, the sanctuary of the mandates and the inhibitions of the law, the kernel of the Muḥammadi religion, the marrow of the Ahmadi belief, and the tabernacle of the eastern parts of the universe — Guard it, O God, from calamities, and molestation! This city, through the number of

1. T.G.P. Spear, 'The City in South Asia: Delhi — the Stop-Go Capital' (paper presented at a seminar held at the Centre of South Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on February 2, 1976).
2. Fritz Meier, 'The Mystic Path, The Sufi Tradition', *The Muslim World* ed. Bernard Lewis (London 1976), p. 125.
3. Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn (Dordrecht-Holland 1968), p. 246.

grants, and unbounded munificence of that pious monarch, became the retreat and resting-place of the learned, the virtuous, and the excellent of the various parts of the world, and those who, by the mercy of God, the most High, escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of 'Ajām, and misfortunes caused by the [eruption of the] infidel Mughals, made the capital the asylum of the universe of that sovereign their asylum, refuge, resting-place, and point of safety, and up to the present day, those same rules are observed and remain unchanged, and such may they ever continue!⁴

Baranī, another reliable authority on early medieval India, while enumerating the names of forty-six distinguished scholars of the reign of Sultān 'Ala' al-Dīn Khālī (695-715/1296-1316) writes that each one of them was considered to be the greatest scholar of his time and had no peer in Bukhara, Samarkand, Baghdad, Egypt, Khwarazm, Damascus, Tabriz, Isfahan, Rūm and Rayy.⁵ The presence of such unique scholars in Delhi, who specialized in the Qur'anic exegesis, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence (*Usūl-i fiqh*), theology, logic, dialectics, and rhetoric,⁶ raised this city to the stature of one of the traditional and long-standing centres of Islamic learning and the *Jama'at Khāna* of the great Chishtī saint, Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn Auliā' (d. 725/1325), with a vast number of devotees spread all over the country, gave it an unprecedented air of piety, sanctity and consecration.⁷ Poets as great as Amīr Khusrau (d. 725/1325) and Hasan-i Sūzī 'Alā' (d. 729/1328) adorned the cultural gatherings of the capital⁸ and specialists in different arts and crafts were also in great abundance in the town. It was with this background that the progeny of those who only a generation before had migrated to this land of wonders, began to sing its glories and extol its virtues.⁹

Notwithstanding locational changes, the transfer of the seat of government, for short intervals, to Daulatabad, Agra, and Lahore, and occasional phases of its destruction, decline and downfall, Delhi, on the whole, maintained its glory, greatness and grandeur and continued to symbolize the hopes and aspirations of succeeding generations of

4. Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn Abū-'Umar-i-'Usmān, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsir* Eng. tr. Major H.C. Raverty (Delhi 1970 repr.), Vol. I, pp. 598-599; *Tabaqāt-i Nāsir*. Persian text ed. Abdul Hal Habibi (Kabul 1963) Vol. I pp. 440-441.

5. Qiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rikh-i Fūz Shāhī* (Calcutta 1860-62), p. 352.

6. *Ibid.* p. 353.

7. *Ibid.* pp. 343-347.

8. *Ibid.* pp. 359-60.

9. Amīr Khusrau Dihlawī, *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* (Nawakshore edn. 1871), pp. 22-27, Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Calcutta 1934), pp. 182-187.

Muslims, for whom it was not a mere city but the cradle of their culture, the repository of their traditions and the embodiment of their civilisation. The monuments and memorials, and the ruins and remnants¹⁰ of this gorgeous city inspired the author of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* as well. But what stirred his imagination most was the spiritual aspect of the splendour of this city with its layer upon layer of history and tradition and its long record of cultural life. To quote him

... everyone, even with a little bit of knowledge, knows for certain that, after the Two Holy Sanctuaries of Islam (*Haramayn-i Sharīfayn*), if nobility and greatness can be claimed by other cities, Dīlī is the first and foremost among them. The common folk (*ʿAwām*) call it a miniature Makkah (*Khurd-i Makka*) while the sagacious (*Khawās*), do not entertain any doubt whatsoever about its greatness. A discerning person once remarked that [as far as its sanctity was concerned] the whole of Dīlī was just like a mosque. ¹¹

It was with this conception of Delhi in mind that Ṣādiq Hamadani had long contemplated writing a book about the lives of the Ṣūfīs buried there. After much procrastination, sometime in 1023, 1614,¹² at last he embarked upon writing the *Kalimāt* and completed it the same year, on Friday 23 Rajab/29 August 1614.¹³

The book starts with a doxology which is followed by a brief description of the motives of the author in undertaking the project and the sources he mainly relied on. He also gives an explanation of the tedious method of obtaining the year of the commencement and completion of the book by undoing its chronogrammatic name, the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*. Then, in the course of a *Muqaddima*, he tries to establish the pre-eminence and superiority of Delhi over the other cities of the world.¹⁴ Thereafter, the accounts follow of

10. For a detailed account of the Muslim monuments in Delhi see Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Athār al-Sanādīd* ed. Khālid Naṣir Hāshimī (Delhi 1965 repr.); Carr Stephen, *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (Allahabad 1967 repr.); India Archaeological Survey, *List of Muhammedan and Hindu Monuments (Delhi Province)* (4 vols., Calcutta 1916-22); Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Wāqʿāt-i Dār al-Hukūmat-i Dīlī* (3 vols., Delhi 1919), Percival Spear, *Delhi. A Historical Sketch* (London 1945 repr.); Tatturo Yamamoto, et. al., *Delhi Architectural Remains of the Delhi Sultanate Period* (3 vols. Tokyo 1967-70).

11. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 4.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

(1) Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Aūshī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Khwāja Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hasan Sijzī, reached Delhi via Multan and Lahore; contemporary with Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, died in a state of musical ecstasy, on 14 Rabi‘ I 633/27 November, 1235, nine of his mystical aphorisms and a notice of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36) follow

(2) Shaykh ‘Alī Sijzī a relative of Khwāja Mu‘īn al-Dīn Hasan Sijzī, contemporary with Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, according to the *Dalīl al-‘Arifīn*, Khwāja Mu‘īn al-Dīn died on 6 Rajab 633/16 March 1236, while *Sayr al-Auliya* gives 617/1220-21 as the year of his death, Sādiq Hamādānī prefers the former. Shaykh ‘Alī’s grave is situated in the vicinity of the Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn’s tomb¹⁵

(3) Khwāja Tutmāji, son of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār, contemporary of Sultana Rāḍiyya, died after the Khwāja and was buried beside his tomb, notice of Sultāna Rāḍiyya (634-37/1236-40)

(4) Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, and, according to some, a disciple of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wāhid bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Ghaznawī, *Shaykh al-Islam* of Delhi in the reign of Sultān Shams al-Dīn, his tomb is to the east of the Haud-i Shamsī

(5) Shaykh Hamid al-Dīn Dihlawī, a converted Hindū who accepted Islam at the hands of Shaykh Mu‘īn al-Dīn, when the latter came to Delhi in the wake of that city’s conquest by Sultān Mu‘izz al-Dīn Sam

(6) Qāḍī Hamid al-Dīn Nagaurī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and, according to some, a disciple of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Samarqandī, author of a book called the *Tawālī‘i Shumūs*, very fond of *Samā‘* died on 9 Ramadān 643/28 January 1246, buried by the side of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn’s tomb, Ten of his aphorisms also reproduced, followed by an account of the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Shāh (639-44/1242-46), son of Rukn al-Dīn Firūz Shāh (633-34, 1236)

(7) Shaykh Nāsih al-Dīn, son of Qāḍī Hamid al-Dīn.

15 The notice of Khwāja Tutmāji in the Bankipore MS of the *Kalimat* is preceded by that of Shaykh ‘Alī Sijzī, but the catalogue has missed it. See Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Patna 1925), Vol. VIII (Persian MSS.), p. 35

(8) Qāḍī Sa'd and Qāḍī 'Imād, disciples of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn, by whose side they lie buried

(9) Shaykh Mu'izz al-Dīn Dīhlawī, a disciple of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyar, buried beside the tomb of his preceptor

(10) Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn, a contemporary of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn.

(11) Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Abū al-Mu'ayyid, grandson of Shams al-'Arifīn, received spiritual training from his father and maternal uncle, also profited from his association with Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin Shaykh Ahmad Ghaznawī, Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn had great regard for him, probably buried by the side of the tomb of his mother, Bībī Sāra, situated near the Namāzgāh-i Kuhna

(12) Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Mahmūd ibn Abī al-Khayr As'ad-i Balkhī, a contemporary of Sultān Ghayāth al-Dīn Balban, received spiritual instruction from Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Marghīnānī, Maulānā Kamal al-Dīn, one of the teachers of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliā', was his disciple, his tomb is to the east of Halāḍ-i Shamsa and is known as Takhta-i Nur

(13) Shaykh Turk Biyābānī, a disciple of Shaykh Shuhab al-Dīn Suhrawardī, his tomb is situated outside the Qal'a-i Fīrūzabad, on the road to Qadam Sharīf, notice of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh.

(14) Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn, a contemporary of Sultan Nasir al-Dīn, son of Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, author of the *Jamī al-Hikāyāt*, tomb not traceable

(15) Maulānā Mu'in al-Dīn 'Imrānī, a renowned scholar who flourished in the reign of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq, wrote glosses on the *Kanz*, the *Misbāh* and the *Husāmī*; Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yahyā was his disciple

(16) Khwāja Muhammad Mū'īna-dūz, a disciple of Qāḍī Hamīd al-Dīn, and a devotee of Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn, his tomb is by the side of the Khwāja's.

(17) Maulanā Majd al-Dīn Ḥājjī Jā'armī,¹⁶ a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihab al-Dīn Suhrawardī Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish conferred upon him the office of the *Ṣadr* which he held for two years, died on 12 Dhū al-Hijja. One aphorism quoted

(18) Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār, known for his fondness of *Samā'*, died at the age of one hundred years, in the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn and buried by the side of his preceptor's tomb Notice of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn (695-715/1296-1316)

(19) Khwāja Bust, came to Delhi in the wake of its conquest by Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Ghūrī, grave to the north of the Khwājas, on the upper hand side Notice of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn

(20) Babā Hājī Rūzbih, a very early saint of Delhi, during the days of Rā'ē Pithaura [Pirithwī Rāj Chauhān] he lived in a ditch of the fort, and converted many infidels to Islam, his tomb is near the old Namāzgāh.

(21) Shaykh Imam al-Dīn Abdāl, sister's son of Diyā' al-Dīn Mardā Ghayb performed ascetic austerities under the care of Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn but obtained the robe of *Khilāfat* from Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' did not listen to *Samā'* in his absence, died at an advanced age, in 680, 1281-82

(22) Shaykh Rājī Dihlawī, a *Khalīfa* of Badī' al-Dīn Shāh Madār, Sayyid Jumman Bihārī, Qādī Mahmūd, Qādī Shihab al-Dīn Parkala-ī Ālush, Qādī Muṭahhar, Qādī 'Abd al-Malik, Sayyid Khāssa, Shaykh 'Alā', generally known as A'lā, Shaykh Muḥammad Chand and Shaykh Muḥammad Bā'in Pānw were also Badī' al-Dīn Shāh Madār's disciples, Badī' al-Dīn died in 800/1397-98

(23) Shaykh Shams Autāwala, a contemporary of Sultān al-Auhyā' Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn

(24) Shaykh Shihab al-Dīn 'Ashiq, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl, had been benefited by Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī also

16. The notice of Maulanā Majd al-Dīn Jā'armī is available in the Bankipore MS. but the Catalogue fails to mention it. See Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, p. 36

(25) Shaykh 'Imad al-Dīn, a disciple of Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl; obtained the robe of *Khulāfat* from Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Āshiq. Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Imām was his disciple

(26) Shaykh Nizām al-Haqq wa'l Dīn, originally named Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin 'Alī al-Bukhārī, his early life and miracles, 35 of his aphorisms, died on 18 Rabī' II, 725 (3 April 1325)

(27) Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawakkil, brother and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganjī Shakar, died during the reign of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubad, the grandson of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, Notice of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubad

(28) Shaykh Ṣalāh al-Dīn *Darwīsh*,¹⁷ a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Multānī, and a contemporary of Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn *Chirāgh-i Dīhlī*, lived during the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, his tomb is near Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn *Chirāgh*'s notice of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq (725-52/1325-51)

(29) Shaykh Nur al-Dīn Maḥṣyār Parrān, a disciple of Shaykh Dūniyāl Junhī, who traced his spiritual genealogy to Shaykh Abu Ishaq Kazirūnī through Shaykh 'Alī Khadrī, contemporary of Shaykh Abu Bakr Tūsī and Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', died in the reign of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, notice of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86, 1266-87).

(30) Shaykh Diyā' al-Dīn Ramī a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, Sultān Qutb al-Dīn Khaljī was his disciple, his tomb is opposite Bijaymandal, in Delhi, notice of Sultān Qutb al-Dīn Khaljī (716-20/1316-20)

(31) Sīdī Maulā*, a contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, killed during the reign of Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī, notice of Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī (689-95/1290-96)

(32) Shaykh Abū Bakr Tūsī, a friend of Shaykh Farīd's favourite

* As against this generally accepted pronunciation, some authorities favour the vocalization of this word as *Muwallīh*, which implies a group of dervishes 'noted for their fire walking' See Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* Leiden, 1980, p. 16, fn. 29

17 The notice mentioned at serial no. 27 of the *Bankipore Catalogue* in the MS. pertains to Shaykh Ṣalāh al-Dīn *Darwīsh* but Maulavi Abdu'l Muqtadir wrongly attributes it to Ṣadr al-Dīn *Darwīsh*. See *ibid.*, p. 37

disciple, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī, lived the life of a *Qalandar*, his tomb is on the bank of the river Jamnā near Shaykh Malikyar Parrān's.

(33) Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Nagaurī, grandson, disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaūrī. Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn had two sons, namely Shaykh 'Azīz and Shaykh Muḥib, Shaykh Farīd was the son of the former; collected the discourses of Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn entitled the *Ṣurūr al-Ṣudūr*, came to Delhi in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, left several sons, tomb in the ruins of Delhi, to the south of Bujaymandal.

(34) Shaykh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' died on 18 Ramadān 757/14 September 1356, during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, notice of Firūz Shah (752-90/1351-88); six of Shaykh's aphorisms and an account of his miracles.

(35) Maulanā Fakhr al-Dīn Marwazī, a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', died in the reign of Sultān Ghuyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, buried beside the grave of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Yahyā, among the Yārān-i Chabūtara, one of his aphorisms; notice of Sultān Ghuyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (720-25, 1320-25).

(36) Maulanā 'Ala' al-Dīn Nūlī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', tomb by the side of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Yahyā's.

(37) Khwāja Taqī al-Dīn, a disciple, *Khalīfa* and Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn's nephew's son (*pisar-i khwāhar-zādā*), tomb among the Yārān-i Chabūtara.

(38) Khwāja Hārūn, surnamed Raft' al-Dīn, eldest brother of Khwāja Taqī al-Dīn, buried beside the tomb of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn.

(39) Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, belonged to the Sayyid family of Kirmān and Ghaznī, was a disciple and companion of Shaykh Farīd, had cordial relations with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, left four sons.

(40) Qāḍī Muhyī al-Dīn Kāshānī, a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', during whose lifetime he died.

(41) Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, died in 732/1331-32, during the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

(42) Sayyid Ahmad, another son of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī; died on Thursday, 1 Sha'hān 752, 23 September 1351.

(43) Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn, grave near the tomb of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya'

(44) Khwāja Qādī, grandson of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar.

(45) Khwāja Muḥammad and Khwāja Mūsā, sons of Fāṭima, the third daughter of Shaykh Farīd, who was married to Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ishāq, Mūsā collected the discourses of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn styled the *Anwār al-Majālis*

(46) Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn Sūfī, son of Bibī Mastūra, the first wife of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, was a pupil of Qādī Muhyī al-Dīn Kāshānī, an excellent calligrapher, composed the *Tuḥfat al-Abrār fī Karāmat al-Akhyār* in praise of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn

(47) Khwāja Abū Bakr Shiblī, an intimate friend and disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn

(48) Maulānā Jamāl al-Dīn Dihlawī,¹⁸ a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, tomb beside Nizām al-Dīn Auliya's.

(49) Khwāja Karīm al-Dīn Samarqandī, a disciple of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, contemporary of Khusrau and Hasan Dihlawī, suggested improvements in the works of Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq gave him the title of *Anwār al-Mulk*, his sons Khwāja Aḥmad and Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn were also very prominent.

(50) Maulānā Faṣīḥ al-Dīn, a disciple of Sultān al-Mashā'ikh, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn

(51) Maulānā Shuhāb al-Dīn Imām the *Imām* of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya'; the poet Khusrau had great regard for him.

(52) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Dihlawī, son of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Imām; was a leading *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn; Mas'ūd Bak was one of his disciples, buried beside the tomb of his father, near Lādō Sarā'ī.

18. The notice of Khwāja Abū Bakr is followed by two separate notices in the Bankipore MS. The first deals with Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Dihlawī while the other treats of Khwāja Karīm al-Dīn Samarqandī. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir has confused both these notices in his *Catalogue*. See *Ibid.*, p. 38.

(53) Shaykh Kabīr al-Aulyā', originally named Malīk Qabūl, a favourite slave of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, in whose reign he died.

(54) Khwāja Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Ansārī, a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', left a son named Nūr al-Dīn Maḥammad.

(55) Shaykh Haydar, an experienced disciple of the Sultān al-Mashā'ikh

(56) Shaykh Abū Bakr Musallā Bardār, a disciple and *Musallā*-keeper of Nizām, al-Dīn Auliya'

(57) Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn, son of Khwāja Abū Bakr Musallā Bardār.

(58) Maulana Shams al-Dīn Yahyā, a favourite *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', and a distinguished scholar of his times; left several learned pupils including the celebrated Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh, wrote a commentary on the *Maḥārīq al-Anwār* and compiled several treatises on *Sūfism*, one of which is called the *Shamsiyyat al-Ma'ārif*, died in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, nine of his aphorisms and some miracles

(59) Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Pā'ilī, a disciple and friend of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', was held in high esteem for his accomplishments.

(60) Amīr Khusrau Dihlawī, a favourite disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', died on Wednesday Dhu al-Qa'da 725/16 October, 1325.

(61) Khwāja Shams al-Dīn, the sister's son of Amīr Khusrau, and a strong devotee of Sultān al-Mashā'ikh

(62) Khwāja Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī a favourite of Khwaja Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', was a constant associate of Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Hasan, after the death of Sultān Firūz Shāh he took to a life of seclusion and wrote several books including the *Ma'āthir-i Sādāt*, the *Thanā-i Muḥammadī*, the *Ṣalawāt-i Kabīr* the *'Ināyat-nāma-i Ilāhī*, the *Ta'rīkh-i Firūz Shāhī* and the *Hasrat-nāma*.

(63) Maulana Diyā' al-Dīn Sunnāmī, a contemporary of the Sultān al-Mashā'ikh, known for his strict observance of *Sharī'a*.

(64) Khwāja Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, a very distinguished noble who later adopted a life of isolation from the world, Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn during his tenure as the governor of Kara, had very high regard for his piety. Later on, after his accession to the throne, he sent for the Khwāja and wanted to bestow on him some important office, but he declined ¹⁹

(65) Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, an esteemed friend of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', the author of the *Sayr al-Auliya'* saw him after the death of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auhya'.

(66) Shaykh 'Uthmān Sayyāh, a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ, who was a *Khalīfa* of his grandfather, Shaykh al-Islām Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī, he attended the gatherings of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd also

(67) Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Haqq-gūy, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of his father, Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Zuhūdī,²⁰ notice of Sultān Naṣīr al-Dīn, son of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (644-64/1246-66)

(68) Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn Ḥakīm, an esteemed *Khalīfa* and companion of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd as well as a favourite of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn; his tomb is in Qal'a-i Ala'i, seven of his aphorisms.

(69) Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Thani, son and successor of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Haqq-gūy, contemporary of Maḥdūm Jahāniyān, left three sons, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn *Gany-i Rawān* of Kālpī, Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn of Jaunpur and Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Bihar

(70) Sayyid Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī, son of Sayyid Jamal, was a teacher in the *Madrasa* of Sultān Firūz Shāh Lughluq, author of the *Yūsufī* and the *Taujīh al-Afkār*

(71) Qādī 'Abd al-Muqtadir Sharīhī, son of Qādī Rukn al-Dīn; and a senior disciple of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, his pupil was Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn; he died on 26 Maḥarram 792/25 January 1388.

(72) Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn, a disciple, servant, *Khalīfa* and sister's son of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd

19 Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir writes. 'Khwāja Muayyid-ud-Din was Governor of Kara in the time of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din' which is quite contrary to the contents of the original MS. See *ibid.*, p. 39.

20. The Bankipore MS. reads 'Zāhūdī', but the *Catalogue* records it as 'Zāhīdī', which is incorrect. See *ibid.*

(73) Mas'ūd Bak, a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Imām, he was a relative of Sultān Fīrūz and his original name was Shīr Khān, wrote the *Tamhīdāt* on the model of the *Tamhīdāt* of 'Ayn al-Qudatī Hamadānī, two of his aphorisms excerpted from the *Murāt al-'Arīfīn*

(74) Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Samarqandī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī, came to Delhi from Bukhara during the time of Sultān al-Masha'ikn, died during the lifetime of the latter

(75) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Firdausī, a disciple of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Samarqandī, Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdausī was his disciple; buried in Kīūkharī beside the tomb of Shaykh Mahmūd Bihārī who obtained his spiritual training from Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn

(76) Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdausī, a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Firdausī, one of his disciples was Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā

(77) Shaykh Hasan Tahir a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Rajī Hāmid Shāh, who was a disciple of Shaykh Husām al-Dīn Manikpurī, born in Bihar, whence his father migrated from Multan in pursuit of knowledge, came to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, on the latter's request died on 24 Rabī' 1 909/16 September 1503, wrote treatises on mysticism, including the *Miftāh al-Fayḍ* four aphorisms of his.

(78) Maulānā Samā' al-Dīn, son of Fakhr al-Dīn, born at Multan in 808/1405-06, received the robe of *Khilāfat* from Shaykh Kabīr al-Dīn Isma'il, the grandson of Makhdūm Jahānyān, lost his eyesight in his old age; wrote glosses on the *Lama'at* another of his works is the *Miftāh al-Asrār* which follows the pattern of the *Rasā'il* *Azīz* *Nasafī* Shaykh Jamālī, a scholar and poet was his disciple. he died on 17 Jumādā II, 907/28 December 1401

(79) Shāh 'Abd Alāh Qurayshī, a follower of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' of Multan, Sultān Bahlūl Lōdī married his daughter to him²¹ Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī was his disciple and was known for his extraordinary devotion to his preceptor, his son, Shah Ahmad also had strong mystical leanings

21. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir writes 'Shah 'Abd Ulah Qurayshi ... married his daughter to Sultan Bahlul Lodi', which is contrary to the facts and is not substantiated by the original MS. See his *Catalogue*, p. 41

(80) Shaykh Hājī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb a descendant of Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī Surkh, and a disciple of Shah ‘Abd Allāh, learnt the external sciences from Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Bukhārī, Sultan Sikandar Lōdī had great regard for him, he wrote a commentary on the Qur’ān, died in 932/1525-26 during the reign of Bābur Pādīshāh, notice of Bābur Pādīshāh (932-37/1526-30).

(81) Shah Abū al-Ghayth Bukhārī, son of Shaykh Hājī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, died during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, notice of Ibrāhīm Lodī (923-32, 1517-26)

(82) Shāh Jalāl Shīrāzī, a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh, author of the commentary on the *Gulshan-e Rāz* came to Delhi in 944/1537-38 during the reign of Sikandar Lōdī, notice of Humāyūn.

(83) Shaykh Sulayman Mandowī, son of Shaykh ‘Alīfān, born in Delhi, travelled extensively and met several dāwines, spent fifty years in *I’tikāf* at Masjid-i Aqṣā and the Bayt al-Ḥarām, Shāh Sulaymān of Badakhshan was one of his disciples, migrated to Mando during the invasion of Delhi by Tīmūr, died at the advanced age of one hundred and fifty years or, according to some, even more than that, had two sons, Shaykh Da’ud and Shaykh Mahmūd Shaykh Da’ud died in his youth, Shaykh Mahmūd succeeded his father, Shaykh Mahmūd’s son, Shaykh Kamāl²² was also celebrated for his virtuous deeds, notices of Khidr Khān (817-24/1414-21) and Mu’izz al-Dīn Mabārakshāh (824-38/1421-36)

(84) Shaykh Muḥammad Mashā’ikh, son of Hājī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb daughter’s son of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Bukhārī and younger brother of Shāh Abū al-Ghayth, benefited from his father and Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Qurayshī, accompanied Humāyūn to the campaign of Gujarat, died in 942/1535-36, at the age of 50 succeeded by his son, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm, who was succeeded by Shaykh Muḥammad Shahīd, who was succeeded by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb who was succeeded by Shaykh Muḥammad Yusuf, who was a contemporary of the author

(85) Shāh Muzammil, son and *Khalīfa* of Hājī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb; his mother was the daughter of Prince ‘Abd Allāh of Rūm, benefited from the spiritual beatitude of Shāh ‘Abd Allāh also, enjoyed cordial relations with Shaykh Salim Chishtī, died in 958 1551-52 at the age of 37, during

22. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir wrongly calls him the son of Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī. See *ibid.*

the reign of Salīm Khān bin Shīr Khān [Shāh], notice of Salīm Khān [Shāh].

(86) Shah Mudatthar, brother of Shāh Mazammil and son of Hājī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, born in 924, 1518-19, Shah Muzammil had great regard for him. Shīr Khān [Shāh] and his son Salīm Khān [Shāh] also held him in high esteem; died in 961, 1553-54, at the age of 27, he was succeeded by his eldest son Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghaffār, who was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Salīm.

(87) Shaykh Rukn al Dīn son of Shah 'Abd Allah Qurayshī, his mother was a daughter of Sultān Buhlū, Lōdī, after his father's death rose to the position of *Shaykh al-Islām* of Delhi.

(88) Shaykh Abu al Fath, son of Shaykh Rukn al Dīn.

(89) Shaykh Adhan Dihlawī originally named Zayn al-'Ābidīn; a disciple of Maulānā Samā' al-Dīn, maternal grandfather of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, died in 934, 1527-28.

(90) Shaykh Yūsuf Qattāl, a disciple of his father-in-law, Qādī Jalāl al-Dīn Lahaurī, died in 933 during the reign of Zahir al-Dīn Babur Padishāh, buried in the Haft Pul of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, four of his aphorisms.

(91) Shaykh 'Abd Allah Dihlawī, son of Shaykh Yūsuf Qattāl died in 987/1579-80.

(92) Maulānā Shu'ayb,²³ a renowned scholar, saint and preacher of his time, his grandfather was the *Muftī* of Delhi during the days of Sultān Buhlū, died in 936, 1529-30 in the reign of Bābūr Pādishāh.

(93) Shaykh Jamālī, a renowned saint and poet of later Lōdī and early Mughul period, Sultān Sikandar, Babur and Humāyūn held him in high esteem; disciple of Maulānā Samā' al-Dīn, travelled extensively and met a great many saints and scholars including Maulānā Jāmī, Shaykh al-Islām Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Sultān Husayn Mūzā of Harat and his learned minister Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī also showed great regard to him, died in 942/1535-36 during the reign of Humāyūn Pādishāh.

(94) Sayyid Hasan Pay Minarī, during the reign of Sultān Sikandar

23 This notice is missing in the backgate MS. See *ibid.* p. 42.

Lōdī came to Delhi from Mashhad-i Tūs.

(95) Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad Dihlawī, son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, maintenance of the tomb of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' was his ancestral responsibility, died towards the end of the 9th/15th century.

(96) Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Ajōdhanī, also known as Farīd-i Thānī, son of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn, a disciple of his grandfather, Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn bin Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Shaykh Munawwar, died in 948/1541-42 during the reign of Shīr Khān, notice of Shīr Khān [Shāh] (945-52/1538-45).

(97) Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Khayālī, eldest son and disciple of Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭāhur, born in Jaunpur, lived in Madinah for several years, repaired to Delhi with Shaykh Ḥajjī 'Abd al-Wahhab, tomb in Bijaymandal, Delhi, six of his aphorisms

(98) Mīr Sayyid Shams al-Dīn and Sayyid Abū Ṭālib, two friends, came to India and stayed with Shāh Muḥammad Firūzābadī, who led an honourable life from the time of Sultan Ibrahim Lōdī to Islam Khān [Shāh] bin Shīr Khan [Shah], Shah Muḥammad offered the hand of one of his daughters to Sayyid Abū Ṭālib who declined the match, soon afterwards, both these travellers were found slain in his house, incident caused great uproar among the people, Shāh Muḥammad was sent to prison where he died, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ashiq Sanbhalī was one of Shāh Muḥammad's disciples.²⁴

(99) Sayyid Ibrāhīm Īrajī, son of Mīr Mu'īn; a Ḥusaynī Sayyid, belonged to the Qādiriyya order, was a disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Qādirī Shaṭṭarī, died in 953/1546-47

(100) Mīr Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal, son of 'Alā', according to the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* his ancestors migrated from Zaidpur, a dependancy of Jaunpur, to the Deccan, he was born there; after performing the pilgrimage, he returned to Ahmadabad and finally settled in Delhi; his

24. The *Catalogue* records: 'Sayyid Shams-ud-Din and Sayyid Abu Talib, two friends who led an honorable life from the time of Sultan Ibrahim bin Sultan Sikandar Shah to that of Islam Khan bin Shir Khan, Islam Khan accommodated them with great honour in his palace, and negotiated a marriage between one of his daughters and Abu Talib, who, however, declined the match. Soon afterwards, the two saints were found murdered in his house, and the king was suspected of the crime' The whole statement is absolutely baseless and is not substantiated by the Barkipore MS. See *ibid.* pp. 42-43.

works are the *Fayd al-Bārī*, *Siyar al-Nabl*, *Risāla-i Tahqīq-i Nafs*, and the *Risāla-i Farā'id* (in verse), wrote glosses on several books including the *Futūhāt i Makkīyya* and the *Mutawwal-i Ma'ānī* died in 968/1560-61; during the reign of Akbar, five of his aphorisms quoted.

(101) Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz, younger son of Kamāl al-Haqq Shaykh Hasan Tahir Jaunpūrī brother of Shāh Khayālī, and *Khalīfa* of Miyyān Qādī Khān Yūsuf Nāsihī Zafarābādī; born at Jaunpur in 880/1475-76, according to some he was born in 896/149-91, died in 975/1567-68, during the reign of Akbar, he left several sons, among whom Miyyān Shaykh Qutb al-'Ālam was well known, among his works are the *Aynīyya* and the *Azīzīyya*, ten of his aphorisms, notice of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605)

(102) Shaykh Ishāq Mutanī, died in 987/1579-80.

(103) Shaykh Hasan Būdlā, Salīm Khān Sūr was one of his devotees, died in 967/1559-60

(104) Maulana Majd, a follower of the Maḡhribīyya Aḥmadiyya order, Sultan Muẓaffar Gujarātī became his pupil, Sultān Bahādur also held him in high esteem, at the time of the annexation of Gujarat, Humayun brought him to Delhi; died during the reign of Shur Shāh.

(105) Shaykh Zakariyya' Dihlawī, surnamed Bahā' al-Dīn, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd Ganj-i Shakar, benefited from Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs and other saints also, died in 970/1562-63, during the reign of Akbar

(106) Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Dihlawī, son of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā', son of Shaykh 'Isā Dihlawī, spent some time in the company of Shaykh Amān Panīpatī, wrote a commentary on the *Nuzhat al-Arwāh*, later on, joined the military service and became a soldier

(107) Shaykh Yūsuf Dihlawī, a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-Razzāq Jhanjhāna, whose discourses he collected, died during the reign of Akbar.

(108) Shaykh Ḥajjī Dihlawī, son of Shah Khayālī and disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shāh 'Abd al-Razzāq Jhanjhāna, he was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Kamāl, who died towards the end of 1024/1615.

(109) Shaykh Ḥusayn Naqshī, a renowned seal-engraver, met several *Mashā'ikh*, died on 14 Jumāda II, 988, 27 July 1580 left several children, one of whom, Shaykh 'Alī Ahmad, was adorned with many virtues, 'Alī Ahmad died on 18 Muharram 1018, 23 April 1609; in the presence of the Emperor Jahāngīr, as a result of an ecstasy caused by a couplet of Hasan Dihlawī [sic].

(110) Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī, father of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, born in 920, 1514-15, and died in 990/1582-83 at the age of 70*, six of his aphorisms quoted, account of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith followed by ten of his aphorisms

(111) Shaykh Rīzq Allāh Mushtāqī, uncle of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith and disciple of Miṣbāḥ al-'Ashiqīn Shaykh Mangan, author of the *Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī*, died in 989 1581-82,²⁵ at the age of ninety years, his brother, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh, alias Shaykh Manjū who was a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Khayālī, died in 969/1561-62

(112) Shaykh Ismā'īl 'Arab, a disciple of Khwāja 'Abd al-Shahīd, was an eminent saint and scholar, most of the students of the *Madrasa-i Dihli* had benefited from him

(113) Shaykh Buhlul Dihlawī, spent most of his time in reciting the Qur'ān, and teaching *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh* and *Usul* died on 14 Rajab 1007/10 February 1599

(114) Shaykh Ḥājī Muhammad, a friend of Shaykh Buhlul Lōdī, belonged to the Qāḍurī order, very strict in the observance of the *Sharī'ah*, died on 1 Ramadān 1007/4 August 1598

(115) Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī Biyābānī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz, died in Jumādā II, 1017/1608, during the reign of Jahāngīr, notice of Jahāngīr (1614-37/1605-27)

(116) Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ajodhanī, a devotee of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bī'llāh, died in 1019, 1610-11

25 Bankipore MS. gives 979/1571 as the year of his death which is incorrect

* This by the computation common in many parts of Asia, according to which he was 1 from the moment of birth. According to the usual European system he was only 69 when he died (A. L. Basham)

(117) Shaykh Walî Muḥammad, a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz, most of his time was spent in the recitation of the Qur'ân; died on 18 Jumādā II, 1017/30 August 1608

(118) Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥtasib, a contemporary of the author, well versed in esoteric as well as exoteric sciences, died in 1017/1608-09

(119) Maulānā Ḥājī Muḥammad Kashmīrī Dīhlawī, the maternal grandfather of the author, his ancestors came to Kashmir from Hamadan with Mīr²⁶ Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, he came to Delhi, completed his education and started teaching at the *Madrassa-i Dīlhi*, was one of the most outstanding scholars of his time, died on 19 Ṣafar 1006, 1 October 1597.

(120) Khwāja Muḥammad al-Bāqī al-Naqshbandī al-Uwaysī, the author's spiritual guide, died on Monday 25 Jumada II, 1012/ 30 November 1603, fifty-five of his aphorisms quoted accounts of four of his most distinguished *Khalīfas*, namely Shaykh Taj Sanbhalī, Khwāja Husām al-Dīn Dīhlawī, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, and Shaykh Ilāhdad of Amroha, are also included. Notice of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī is followed by eleven of his aphorisms

(ii) The *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*

Another important and more detailed work from the pen of Sâdiq Hamadānī is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*. The author was born sometime during the reign of Akbar, lived through the whole period of Jahāngir and was alive, at least up to the 16th regnal year (1052/1642) of Shāh-jahān. He had long contemplated the compilation of the biographies of the distinguished *Sayyids*, *Ṣūfis*, scholars, physicians and poets who flourished from the Orthodox Caliphs to the reign of Shāhjahān. But, grandiose as his project was, he failed to muster sufficient material and moreover for want of leisure he was compelled to confine himself to those contemporary with the illustrious House of 'Timūr²⁷. The book, that deals with hundreds of celebrities from different times and climes, is divided into ten chapters, corresponding to the reigns of Timur and his successors²⁸. Each chapter is called a *Ṭabaqa* which consists of three *Bābs* or sections. Section one deals with the *Sayyids* and the *Ṣūfis*,

26. The Bankipore MS. reads 'Mīr' but the *Catalogue* erroneously records it as 'Nūr'. See *ibid.* p. 44.

27. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 3b-5.

28. For a detailed list of contents, see Appendix I.

section two treats of the scholars, and the physicians, and the third section contains brief notices of the poets whose deaths coincided with the reigning monarch of the House of Tīmūr under whom their names have been mentioned. Some of the notices are so succinct and sketchy as to excite rather than satisfy the curiosity of the reader. The importance of the work as a biographical dictionary, however, cannot be overemphasized.

Although occasional references to some earlier authorities are met with in the course of the narrative, the author fails to mention his sources specifically. For the contemporaries of Akbar he not only relies on the *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* of Badāyūnī but also subscribes to his ideas with regard to the religious developments at the court of that Emperor. The last two chapters, covering the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, based as they are on the author's personal observation, are particularly interesting, instructive and revealing, and whatever little we know about the author's own life is mostly contained in this part of his work. The book is still in manuscript.

(iii) *Āthār-i Shāhjahānī*

During the course of writing the *Kalimāt* in 1023/1614 Ṣādiq Hamadānī made a passing reference to the fact that circumstances permitting he would like to compile a history of the reign of Jahāngīr on a subsequent date.²⁹ Whether he could put into effect this desire is not known. Nevertheless, "a very defective" manuscript of one of his works entitled *Āthār-i Shāhjahānī*, which is alternatively called *Ākhhār-i Jahāngīrī* also, is preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.³⁰

According to its preface, the work comprised a *Muqaddima*, a *Maṭla'*, a *Maqṣad* and a *Khāṭima*, but in its present state the title *Āthār-i Shāhjahānī* seems nothing more than a misnomer, because the *Khāṭima* which apparently contained an account of the reign of Shāhjahān is missing from this only known manuscript of the work. As far as the *Muqaddima* is concerned, it, among other things, discusses the meaning of the word *king* and explains his duties to God and people. The *Maṭla'* starts from Adam and comes down to a description of the ancestors of Shāhjahān. The *Maqṣad* is a collection of anecdotes about various prophets, the Rightly Guided Caliphs and pious kings. In view of the least

29. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 157.

30. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore*. Patna, 1977 repr., pp. 65-66 (MS. No. 564).

importance accorded by the author to the account of the reign of Shah-jahān and the excessive emphasis he laid on the stock-in-trade more relevant to a traditional 'Mirror for Princes' one would like to place the *Āthār* in the latter category rather than calling it a book of history proper.

VII THE PLAN OF THE *KALIMĀT*

In its plan and pattern the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* closely follows the model of the *Rashahāt-i Ayn al-Hayāt* of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī Ṣafī, son of the celebrated preacher of Harāt, Mulla Husayn Wā'iz Kāshifī. The author of the *Rashahāt* tells us in the preface of his book that he was admitted to the presence of the great Naqshbandī saint, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār, towards the end of Dhī-Qa'd 889/December 1484 and again at the beginning of Rabī' II 893 March 1488, and heard him discoursing on the virtues and qualities of the saints of the Naqshbandiyya order. He remembered his utterances and when the meetings ended, carefully committed them to paper. When the Khwāja died, 'Alī Ṣafī for his personal spiritual satisfaction decided to arrange the discourses of his preceptor in the shape of a book, though sixteen years elapsed before he could execute his plan. In doing so, he prefaced the biography of the Khwāja, the real theme of the book according to the author, with the accounts of his predecessors in the Naqshbandiyya order. Wherever possible he also appended some of the sayings — each one known as a *Rashah* ('drop') — of that particular saint and called his work the *Rashahāt-i Ayn al-Hayāt* ('The Drops of the Spring of Life'). The name, *Rashahāt*, is expressive of the date of its completion,¹ i.e. 909/1503-4, though references to dates as late as 912/1506 are also seen in the text.²

The *Rashahāt*, based as it is on the conversations of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār, various books on the lives and teachings of the saints of the Naqshbandiyya school of mystics, and the accounts gathered from the trustworthy contemporaries of the author, has always been prized as the earliest standard authority, after the *Nafahāt*, on the history of the Naqshbandiyya order. Several commentaries³ of the work and its renderings into the Turkish language⁴ eloquently speak for its importance and popularity. Ṣādiq Hamadānī also appears to have been fond of this

1 *Rashahāt* (Kānpūr 1911), pp. 1-4.

2 *Ibid.* p. 173.

3 See Maulavi Abd al-Muqtadir, p. 26.

4 See Maulavi Abd al-Muqtadir, pp. 26-27. *Reu.*, Vol. I, p. 262.

book in no small measure. He quotes it once in the *Kalimāt*⁵ and in one of his letters addressed to Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī⁶ seeks explanation for two points arising out of that book which at once reveal his interest in it as well as the discriminating nature of his mind. In the structure and format of the *Kalimat* he chose the *Rashahāt* as his model. He prefaced the extensive account of his preceptor, Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bī'illāh, to quote him 'the real object in writing the book',⁷ with the accounts of the saints who were buried in Delhi up to his own time. After the accounts of a number of distinguished *Ṣūfīs* he also reproduced some of their aphorisms, each one known as a *Kalima* ('utterance'), and styled his work *Kalimāt al-Sādiqīn* ('The Utterances of the Truthful'), the name of the book being expressive of the date of its commencement and completion.⁸

VIII ITS SOURCES

(1) Retrospect

The 8th, 14th century saw the compilation of three extremely important treatises appertaining to mysticism in India, namely the *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, the *Khayr al-Majālis* and the *Sayr al-Auliya' fī Mahabbat-i Huqq Jalla wa 'Ala*. It is to the timely initiative, abiding interest and indefatigable industry of the authors of these three fundamental works that to a large extent we owe our knowledge and understanding of the spiritual and social life of early medieval India and particularly the early history of the Chishtiyya order in this Subcontinent. The *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* is a collection of the discourses of the great Chishtī saint, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', extending over a period of fifteen years from 3 Shā'ban 707/23 January 1308⁹ to 20 Shā'ban 722/3 September 1322,¹⁰ compiled by his favourite disciple celebrated poet Amīr Hasan Sijzī 'Alā'. Couched in a simple, direct and spontaneous language as they are, the discourses cover a wide range of topics, unravel a great many mystical, theological and ethical problems, contain invaluable references to contemporary events, and provide information of unmistakable authenticity about the lives of the contemporaries and predecessors of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya'. Thirty-two years after the publication of *Fawā'id*

5. Persian Text, p. 48.

6. *Maktubāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Vol. II, Letter 28.

7. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 193.

8. *Ibid.*, Persian Text, p. 2.

9. *FF*, p. 3.

10. *Ibid.* p. 272.

al-Fu'ād, in 754/1353,¹¹ another record of homilies made its appearance, and the *Khayr al-Majālis*, an anthology of one hundred discourses of Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar, an old disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', who later on joined the company of Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī and undertook the task of recording his conversations. Ḥamīd Qalandar did not record the dates of the assemblies, but otherwise the thought content and the nature of topics discussed in the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* and the *Khayr al-Majālis* are much the same, with the difference that the latter occasionally repeats, attests and sometimes supplements the details already mentioned in the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*. It also gives an unparalleled insight into the serene, sublime and exalted nature of Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn. Although the few introductory pages are written in a florid, ornate and verbose style, the *Majālis* themselves are described in a clear and simple language.

Compiled as they were under the direct supervision and constant scrutiny of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' and Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī, these two works set a firm foundation for the spate of both apocryphal and genuine *Malfūzāt* as the discourses of the saints are generally called of subsequent generations of *Sūfīs* and mystics.

The responsibility of transforming the stray biographical references contained in these works into a consistent, continued and reliable narrative, however, devolved upon Sayyid Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmānī generally known as Amīr Khurd, another of the devout followers of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn. His work, the *Sayr al-Auliya' fī Maḥabbat ḥaqq Jalla wa 'Ala'*, generally called the *Siyar al-Auliya'* is by far the most important work on the lives of the first five generations of the Chishtī mystics in India. He was the grandson of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, a senior disciple of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar and a close and sincere friend of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn. When Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn for the first time visited the *Khanqāh* of Shaykh Farīd in Ajodhan, Sayyid Muḥammad was already there. The warmth of his disposition and the concern he showed for the welfare of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, soon captured the heart of this new disciple of Shaykh Farīd and gradually their relations became extremely cordial and transcended all formalities and worldly conventions. Amīr Khurd's maternal grandfather, Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Dāmāghānī, was an old classmate of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn and enjoyed the best of relations with him. His father and uncles were

11. A. M. p. 3.

equally devoted to the Shaykh and relished his full faith and confidence. All the senior disciples of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn were frequent visitors to the house of Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khamush, one of the uncles of Amīr Khurd, who employed an army of musicians for their musical sessions and in other respects spared no effort to make them feel comfortable during their stay at his place. On his birth, Amīr Khurd was taken to the august presence of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, who bestowed on him his own name, Muḥammad, and gave him his blessing. Amīr Khurd, who grew in such an atmosphere, naturally witnessed many important events of the latter half of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn's life. He also associated with many of the Shaykh's senior disciples who later became *Khalīfas*, and had access to the Shaykh's personal papers after his death. He had many people around him who could give him veritable accounts of the early career of the Shaykh and his contemporaries. He was deeply read in traditional sciences, had a strong propensity towards mysticism and was already well past fifty.¹² It was with all these factors to bring to bear upon his endeavours that he embarked upon the compilation of the *Sayr al-Auliya*.

The book, which is an excellent example of the arrangement of varied material, consists of ten chapters, each comprising several sections. In the first chapter he traces the spiritual lineage of the Chishtī saints to the Prophet Muḥammad and treats of the biographies of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn. Chapter two contains biographical notices of the *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Mu'in al-Dīn, Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn, and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. Chapter three contains a description of the descendants of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and the relatives of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, and their relations with the brothers, father, uncles and grandfather of the author. Chapter four deals with the virtues and qualities of the *Khalīfas* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn. Chapter five consists of the biographical accounts of the members of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn's inner circle of disciples. The next three chapters expatiate upon the rules governing the enrolment of disciples, their elevation to *Ahlāfat*, various litanies and prayers practised by Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, and the etiquette to be observed in musical gatherings. The tenth and last chapter comprises the sayings of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn which are skilfully classified under various sub-headings. The last section of this chapter consists of a brief account of the kings of Delhi, from Ilutūsh to Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughluq, who, according to the author, died in 789/1387,¹³ the last date mentioned in the book.

12. S.A., p. 15

13. *Ibid.* p. 592

This portion is based upon the *Tabaqāt-i Naṣirī* and the *Ta'rikh-i Firūz Shāhī* of Baranī

The book is written in a simple and lucid style, but the excessive number of verses of the author as well as those of other poets, mostly Sanā'ī-i Ghaznawī's, unduly hampers the continuity and flow of the narrative. Acknowledged or not, the *Sayr al-Auliā'* has been drawn upon extensively by later hagiographers. In view of the lack of more contemporary material it would not be wrong to conclude that in so far as the early history of the Chishtī, a order in the Subcontinent is concerned, the *Sayr al-Auliā'* in conjunction with the earlier two authorities, forms the trio that serves as the sole criterion and final arbiter of the authenticity and veracity of the later hagiographies.

Well over a century elapsed after the compilation of the *Sayr al-Auliā'*, before an hagiological work of any consequence emerged. Then, during the first half of the 10th, 16th century, Maulānā Shaykh Jamālī Kambo of Delhi, a saint of Suhrawardī denomination and court poet of Sikandar Lodi, Bābur, and Humayūn, realized the need for such a work and compiled the *Siyar al-Ārifīn*. After his extensive peregrinations all over the Islamic lands and association with the renowned Muslim Sūfis and the scholars of his time, when Jamālī returned to Delhi, his friends hoping to profit from his experiences urged him to write down his reminiscences. But the undertaking was a vast one and Shaykh Jamālī was particularly conscious of the fact that the simple-hearted custodians of the tombs and the ignorant devotees of the Indian mystics and saints had over the decades woven a fabric of legendary accounts around their lives and that the day was not far off when the distinction between fact and fiction would altogether be extinct.¹⁴ Shaykh Jamālī instead preferred to compile a standard biographical work about the Indian Sūfis regardless of their *Silsila* affiliations.

In the execution of his plan he not only drew upon the earlier Chishtī works but also used the *Tabaqāt-i Naṣirī* of Minhāj-i Sirāj, the *Khazāna-i Jalālī* of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahānyān and the *Manāqib-i Qutbī* by one of the latter's disciples. Nevertheless, the celebrity and importance of his work mainly rests upon the mass of material that he gathered from various sources, both within and outside India. It is this new element in the *Siyar al-Ārifīn* that illuminates various obscure points and goes a long way to fill in the lacunae of our information

about the early Chishtī and Sūrawardī saints. Although the book deals mainly with the thirteen major mystics of these two orders,¹⁵ the last one being Shaykh Samā' al-Dīn the author's spiritual preceptor, its stray references to their minor contemporaries are also of interest.

In employing the successive high-sounding rhyming titles before the names of the *Sūfīs* in the beginning of their accounts Jamālī faithfully follows the pattern set by 'Alī Hujwīrī in his *Kashf al-Mahjūb*¹⁶ and then extremely exaggerated by 'Attār in his *Tadhkirat al-Auliya'*¹⁷ The credit for preceding these titles with a short panegyric poem, however, goes to Jamālī. These innovations of his might have been of some interest to his contemporaries but the modern reader looks upon them as sheer obstructions in an otherwise smooth narrative.

Notwithstanding all its virtues, the *Siyar al-Ārifīn* is extremely deficient in dates and pays little attention to the aphorisms of the *Sūfīs*.

The 10th/16th century witnessed the advent of another important hagiography in the *Akhbar al-Akhyar fī Asrār il-Abrār* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muhaddith Dihlawī. The Shaykh had a predilection for the company of the learned and the saintly from his early childhood. One day he was present in the assembly of some dervishes who were talking about the spiritual attainments of their masters. Carried away by the charm of their conversation, the Shaykh, who was still a young lad, and who afterwards turned out to be one of the most prolific writers of India, decided to record it in his notebook and with that the foundation of his maiden work was laid. Gradually he amassed a lot of material about the lives and achievements of the later generations of mystics (*pasimiyān*) and then set out in search of the details about the earlier ones (*pishri niyān*). Before long he had in his possession a magnificent collection of biographical accounts of the *Sūfīs* of India. Lack of experience, the impatience of youth and the insistence of his friends, however, did not allow him to edit his work properly before its publication. Two copies of his work were transcribed by his friends and made public. The labour of love was lost: his work was not well received. Some criticized the prolixity of some of the accounts while others complained of the brevity of the remainder. The inclusion of accounts of some of his contempora-

15. Rieu is wrong in his assumption that all the thirteen mystics 'belonged to the Chishtī order'. See his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, Vol. I, p. 354.

16. Ed. Muḥammad Abbāsī (Tehran 1336 H. Sh.), pp. 202-14.

17. Ed. Muḥammad Iṣṭīlāzī (Tehran 1346 H. Sh.), pp. 12, 19, 30.

ries in the book was also resented. The Shaykh explained that those who were now dead had been alive in the past, and had had the same position among their contemporaries as those included in his book among his own contemporaries, and that when they died their memory would be as much revered by posterity as the present day revered the memory of the people of the past, but the truth did not go home. He also explained that his was not a *Tadhkirat al-Auliya'* ('The Anthology of the Friends of God') nor was it a *Siyar al-ʿArifin* ('The Lives of the Sages'). It was a simple book styled the *Akhhār al-Akhyār fī Asrār il-Abrār* ('The Stories of the Chosen, concerning the Secrets of the Pious') and, as such, all those mentioned in it should not necessarily be viewed as the 'Friends of God' or the 'Sages', but nobody heeded.¹⁸ Meanwhile in 996/1587-88 he left for the Hijaz, whence he returned in 1000/1591-92.

On his return the Shaykh undertook to revise the *Akhhār al-Akhyār* and in doing so, notwithstanding the fact that he incorporated two of the lengthiest notices -- of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muttaqī and Shaykh 'Alī al-Muttaqī -- in it, the book that originally comprised 15,000 lines was reduced to only 9,000 lines. In all probability he expunged the accounts of his contemporaries in the process and also much abridged the specimens of the writings of those included in it. This may have satisfied his antagonists but, viewed in retrospect, the loss was great and irredeemable. Nevertheless, the book in its present form, by all standards, is an epitome of its author's ingenuity, erudition and insight.

With the advent of the *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, the genre of biographical writings about the saints of India came to full maturity and attained new dimensions. The work of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq not only was much richer in the variety of the mystic affiliations it treated but also covered a much larger area of the Subcontinent than did the earlier books. In the choice of his material also the Shaykh showed great discernment. As he writes in the preface, he took every possible care to sift the genuine from the fake and did not include anything unless he was fully satisfied with

18. *Akhhār al-Akhyār* MS No .07 52 (preserved in the private collection of MSS. of the late Professor Maulawī Muḥammad Shafī', of Lahore). The manuscript (dated the Sha'bān 1067/May-June .657) is scribed in the hand of the author's grandson, Sayf Allāh bin Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq Dihlawi and is invaluable for the extra information not contained in other manuscripts.

its authenticity. Modern scholars,¹⁹ however, cast doubt upon the genuineness of some of the collections of *Malfūzāt* quoted by him, like the *Daʿīl al-ʿArifīn* and the *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn*, attributed respectively to Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and his *Khalīfa*, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn

The book starts with a *Muqaddima* followed by a lengthy account of the life, achievements and miracles of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, the arch mystic and founder of the Qādiriyya order of the *Ṣūfīs*. The other contents of the book are divided into three *Tabaqas*. The first *Tabaqa* deals with the lives of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, his contemporaries, *Khalīfas* and disciples. The second *Tabaqa* consists of the notices of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, his contemporaries and disciples. In the third and final *Tabaqa* that extends to the author's own time, the Shaykh treats of the lives of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī and his contemporaries. This *Tabaqa* is followed by two small sections devoted respectively to those attracted by Divine grace (*Mujaddhib*) and the female saints of India. The book concludes with an appendix wherein the Shaykh describes the early phase of his life and traces his pedigree to Āghā Muḥammad Turk, the first of his ancestors, who came to Delhi during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī.

Except for the introductory portion of the work and the excerpts from other books which have a heavy proportion of Arabic vocabulary, the general narrative is simple and can be considered a good example of economy of words. The author appears to be well aware of the importance of dates and wherever possible does not hesitate to record them. The copious reproductions from the works of those treated in the book also immensely enhance the importance of the work.

The first quarter of the 11th, 17th century brought to light another invaluable hagiography called the *Gulzār-i Abrār*, by Muḥammad Ghauthī Shattārī, of Mando, in Gujarat. Muḥammad Ghauthī was born on 11 Rajab 962/1 June 1555. He lost his father at an early age but this did not deter him from the pursuit of his education and the prosecution of his studies. He sat at the feet of several renowned scholars and received

19. The validity of the *Malfūzāt* Collections attributed to various *Mashā'ikh* was for the first time questioned by Muḥammad Qayyūm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāqī Ma'nī in his *Ta'rikh al-Salaf* (Ajmer 1343/1925, pp. 63-77) and his doubts were confirmed by the researches subsequently carried out by other scholars. For an exhaustive analysis of the fabricated *Malfūzāt* literature, see Muḥammad Ḥabīb, Chishtī Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2 (October 1950), pp. 17-42.

instruction from them in a variety of subjects. In mysticism he was a follower of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Baraīdawī and his *Khaliṭfa*, Shaykh Maḥmūd bin Jalāl Gujaratī

Ghauthī first contemplated the compilation of his work in 998/1590 but for one reason or another he was compelled to postpone the beginning to some other date. In 1008/1599-1600 he saw the brief account of the Indian *Sūfīs* contained in the last volume of the *Akbār-nama* by Abū al-Faḍl, which again, for the time being, spurred his desire to embark upon the project. The original beginning of his work, however, came in 1010/1601-1602 when Akbar on his way to the Deccan and Khandesh expeditions stopped in Burhanpur and some of the nobles and grandees in the imperial army, who knew Ghauthī already and were aware of his intention to compose such a work, inquired of him about the progress of his undertaking.²⁰ Now was the time for Ghauthī to start his work earnestly, and he completed it in 1022/1613-14.²¹

Ghauthī had met Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī in 995/1586-87 and was a great admirer of his monumental work, the *Akhbar al-Akhyar*²² but still in so far as the style of his work is concerned he appears to have been more fascinated by the florid prose of Abū al-Faḍl whom he imitates unsuccessfully. Starting from the 7th/13th century down to his own time 1022, 1613-14, he deals in his work with almost twice as many *Sūfīs* as treated in the *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, which he carefully follows in the arrangement of some of the entries. His work also covers the Naqshbandī saints of India and their predecessors in Transoxiana. Content with passing references to the names of some of his contemporaries from whom he derived his information, Ghauthī pays little attention to the mention of the written authorities he extensively drew upon in the course of his work.

The *Gulzār-i Ahrār* is divided into five *Chamans*, the first three being, more or less, the repetition of what had already been accomplished. The last two *Chamans* particularly the fifth one dealing with the Shattārī saints, however, contain the real contribution of the author and as such, are of immense value. The author pays due attention to the recording of dates but the general style of the book, marked as it is by

20. The third volume of the *Akbār-nama*, which itself comprises three volumes, is generally referred to as the *Ā’in-i Akbarī*. For the account of *Sūfīs* referred to by Ghauthī see the *Ā’in-i Akbarī* (Lucknow 1893), Vol. III, pp. 163-176.

21. *GA*, I 3b.

22. *Ibid.*, I. 370.

extreme circumlocution and prolixity, is boring and considerably detracts from its merits as a monument of Persian prose in India during the 11th/17th century. Though an Urdu translation of the work has been published long since,²³ the original is still in manuscript.

(ii) The *Ṣūfī* of Delhi

It was a strange coincidence that the four biographical works discussed above were composed by a Chishtī, a Suhrawardī, a Qādirī, and a Shattārī writer respectively. Strictly in historical sequence, it was now the turn of a Naqshbandī to come forward, and so he did. But with two important works already in existence, the *Akḥbār al-Akhyār* which appeared in its revised form in the early 11th/17th century and the *Gulzār-i Abrār* that was completed sometime in 1022/1613-14, dealing with the *Ṣūfīs* of all major denominations spread all over India, and having himself already compiled a book on the luminaries of the Naqshbandīyya order, there was little scope for Ṣādiq Hamadānī, or, for that matter, for any other writer, to make a real and concrete contribution in the field. Nevertheless, realizing that Delhi, the beehive, haunt and haven of a great many renowned Indian *Ṣūfīs*, the city that had served over the centuries as a nursery for innumerable Muslim mystics who took the torch of spiritual solace to the farthest frontiers of the Subcontinent, had been treated in all the previous works as a part of a big whole, and as an entity in itself had received scant attention at the hands of his illustrious predecessors, Ṣādiq Hamadānī ventured to write the first hagiography exclusively treating of the *Ṣūfīs* of that city. The confusion and consternation that had followed the appearance of the first edition of the *Akḥbār al-Akhyār*, however, served as an eye-opener to our author, and as such, except for the accounts of four celebrated *Khaliḡas* of his spiritual preceptor, Khwaja Muḥammad Bāqī Bīllah, his teacher Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, and a passing reference to his maternal uncle, Maulānā Hasan Kashmīrī, Ṣādiq Hamadānī scrupulously avoided the mention of his contemporaries and confined his work to those architects of the edifice of Muslim culture in India whose mortal remains had found their final abode in Delhi.

For the accounts of the earlier generations of the *Ṣūfīs* he relied, quite naturally, on the previous authorities and gleaned all the relevant material on the subject that was scattered throughout their pages. To fill in the gaps in the spiritual genealogies of these *Ṣūfīs* he depended on

23. *Adḥkār-i Abrār* (Agra 1326/1908).

the *Nafahāt al-Uns min Hadarāt al-Quds* of Maulānā Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān-i Jāmī, a veritable authority on the early mystics of Islam and on extremely popular work in Naqshbandī circles.²⁴

As for the generation of mystics that immediately preceded him, Sādiq Hamadānī derived his information from such exemplary and erudite transmitters as Maulānā Hasan Kashmīrī and possibly from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī also. The notices of Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Shaykh Husayn Naqshī are two pertinent examples in this regard.²⁵ Similarly, his information about his own ancestors, including his maternal grandfather, Maulānā Hājī Muḥammad Kashmīrī, is based upon hearsay and oral family traditions. Another category of *Sūfīs* included in the work comprises personally known distinguished contemporaries of Sādiq Hamadānī who had died long before the composition of the *Kalimāt al-Sādiqīn*.²⁶ The fact that no other work mentions these celebrities eloquently speaks for the importance of the *Kalimāt*. Still another invaluable component of the *Kalimat*, which can rightfully be described as its consummation and crown, is the section dealing with Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi’llāh and his *Khaliḥas*, namely Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī, Khwāja Husam al-Dīn Ahmad, Miyan Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī and Miyan Shaykh Ishaq of Amroha. Though the description is not as exhaustive as could be expected, for he had already treated of this topic at length in an independent work,²⁷ hence it provides the earliest information and comes from one who was in close proximity with the Naqshbandiyya *Khānqah*, its authenticity and importance cannot be over-emphasized.

The account of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi’llāh is followed by fifty five of his aphorisms that have been mainly culled from his own works, namely, his *Malfūzāt*, his letters, his exegesis on some chapters of the Qur’ān, and his commentary on some mystical quatrains generally known as the *Sharḥ-i Rubā’iyāt*.

The *Malfūzāt*, or the discourses of the Khwāja, which start with an account of his early career and close with a detailed description of the twilight of his life, were compiled by one of his anonymous devotees.

24. References to this work are also seen in the notices of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya’ and Amīr Khusrāu Dihlawī. See Persian Text, pp. 42-83.

25. *Ibid.* pp. 135-40, 144-45.

26. The accounts of Maulānā Ismā‘īl ‘Arab, Shaykh Buhārī Dihlawī, Shaykh Hājī Muḥammad, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani Biyābānī, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wāhid Ajūdhanī, Shaykh Wali Muḥammad Dihlawī and Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥtasib fall into this category.

27. See *supra*.

The writer who, out of unpardonable modesty, avoids mentioning his name, on 1 Šafar 1009/12 August 1600 for the first time attended the assembly of the Khwāja and, impressed by the spiritual vein of his utterances, decided to commit them to paper. He privately prepared the account of some of these gatherings and, on 6 Šafar/17 August he formally sought the permission of the Khwāja to record his conversations. Seeing his interest and insistence, the Khwāja reluctantly granted his request and asked him to show him whatever he wrote. Filled with excitement, the writer immediately produced his record of some of the Khwāja's previous assemblies. The Khwāja glanced through the pages and forbade him to continue the work for similar things had been written by several authors and there was no point in repeating them. However much the writer pleaded that he was doing this for the ennobling and enlightenment of his soul, the Khwāja, who was not to be taken in by such excuses, rendered him speechless by asking why he did not read what had been written by the authors of the past instead of re-writing them and attributing them to him. The writer was disappointed for the time being, but he did not lose hope. After the lapse of about eight months, in Ramadān 1009/March 1601 he again put his request before the Khwāja, and finally, through the intercession of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and some other senior disciples of the great saint, succeeded in eliciting his approval, with the condition that he would strictly confine his record to utterances that had direct bearing on the mystic path and would not commit to paper any of the anecdotes and parables that might be narrated otherwise in the course of conversation. He undertook to abide by the instructions and from 11 Ramadān, 1009/16 March 1601, again started recording the discourses of the Khwāja and continued doing so until the death of the latter on 25 Jumādā II, 1012/2 July 1603. During this period of almost three years the writer, who was in military service, does not appear to have been a frequent visitor to the assemblies of the Khwāja only fifteen of the assemblies that he attended bear dates. The discourses of the Khwāja, which cover a variety of mystical topics, are both interesting and absorbing and give an invaluable insight into the psyche and philosophy of the great mystic. The epilogue that treats of the last days of the Khwāja's life, records his obsequies and includes the elegies and chronograms composed by his devotees on his death, is also very informative and instructive. Although the subsequent biographers of the Khwāja immensely drew upon this work, the book itself is still in manuscript and its only complete copy, known as the *Biography of Muḥammad al-Bāqī*, is preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection²⁸ of the India Office Library, London.

Couched in a very polite idiom and interspersed with appropriate verses and frequent references to the writings of the earlier *Ṣūfī* masters, the letters or *Maktūbāt* of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bī'llāh deal with the different obstacles encountered by his followers in the pursuit of mystic path. They also shed some light on *Ṣūfī* terminology. The expatiation upon various phases and facets of mystic revelations is yet another important aspect of these letters. The letters pulsate with a unique ethical spirit that makes them equally instructive to the ordinary reader as well as to the mystic neophyte. In short, the work is a compendium of the teachings and principles of the Naqshbandiyya order as seen by its greatest exponent in India. All the letters are undated and the addresses of most of them are also unknown. A substantial portion of the manuscript, generally known as the *Sharh-i Rubā'iyyāt-i Muḥammad Bāqī*, preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection of the India Office Library, consists of the epistles of the Khwāja.²⁹ Another carefully transcribed copy of the *Maktūbat-i Khwāja Baqī Bī'llah Birang* dated Rajab 1108/December-January 1696-97 is in the possession of Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi, of the Australian National University, Canberra. Most of the letters in these two collections are common to both.

The first aphorisms of the Khwāja quoted by Ṣādiq Ḥamadānī have been taken from the *Tafsīr* or exegesis on some chapters of the Qur'an, reportedly compiled by the Khwāja, but no copy of this work now seems to exist.

The *Silsilat al-Ahrār* or *Sharh-i Rubā'iyyāt* is another important work of Khwāja Bāqī Bī'llāh. The Persian phrase *Naẓm-i Wujub* reveals the thought content of the work and also yields its date of completion, i.e. 1007/1598-99. In the preface to the work the Khwāja explains that some people, out of their paltry nature, ignorance and lack of proper grasp of exalted mystical realities, tried to put wrong interpretations on the basic tenets of mysticism and in doing so cast aspersions on the great *Ṣūfī* masters of the past. It was to remedy this situation that he was compelled to compose this treatise. The work consists of pantheistic quatrains interspersed with a commentary in prose. A manuscript of this book is preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection³⁰ of the India Office Library, London.

29. MS. 1158f

30. *Ibid*

Introduction

Another of the *oeuvres* of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bīllāh that Ṣādiq Hamadānī drew upon in the account of his spiritual preceptor was the *Mathnawī* of the Khwāja. This *Mathnawī*, consisting of more than one thousand verses covering a wide range of mystical subjects, not only throws a great deal of light on the mystical outlook of the Khwāja but also gives useful information about the early lives of his sons, Khwāja ‘Ubayd Allāh and Khwāja ‘Abd Allāh. A manuscript of this work is also preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection³¹ of the India Office Library, London.

The *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī* and the *Mabda’-o Ma’ād* are two other sources of the *Kalīmāt* that deserve a mention here. The *Maktūbāt*, or the letters of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī comprise three volumes, chronogramatically known as the *Durr al-Ma’rifat* (1025/1616-17), the *Nūr al-Khalāyiq* (1028/1618-19) and the *Ma’rifat al-Ḥaqāiq* (1031/1621-22). The first volume contains 313 letters while the second and third comprise 99 and 113 letters respectively. By the time of the compilation of the *Kalimat* in 1023/1614, only 240 of the Shaykh’s letters had been collected. Ṣādiq Hamadānī was also one of the addressees of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, and he is known to have received six letters of the Shaykh.³²

The letters of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, which were mainly written in response to queries received from time to time from his devotees and disciples, deal with various facets of Islamic faith and practice. They have been published several times.

In Ramaḍān 1019/November-December 1610 Khwāja Muḥammad Siddīq Kishmī,³³ a devout follower of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, prepared a concise miscellany of fifty-four extracts from the letters of his preceptor and named it the *Mabda’-o Ma’ād*. The representative character of the quotations, coupled with their terseness, made the writings of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī accessible to a far wider circle than was otherwise possible. The work soon became popular and was frequently referred to by the subsequent writers. It was published in Kanpur in 1309/1891.

The element of miracles and supernatural deeds of the mystics,

31. MS. 1158g.

32. See Appendix II.

33. For his life, see *supra*.

however little it may be, is an indispensable part of the *Ṣūfī* hagiographies. The *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Hamadānī is no exception to this rule. Although generally he avoided the mention of superstitious things, at moments he failed to resist this temptation. One such instance is the story of the infatuation of one of the soldiers of Sikandar Lōdī with an idol and the subsequent disappearance of the idol from the temple, this story he reproduced from the *Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī*, an extremely ill-arranged quasi-historical work by Shaykh Rīzq Allāh Mushtāqī, an uncle of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. The *Wāqī'āt* which is one of the earliest and most valuable authorities on the Afghan period, abounds in miracles, apparitions, and stories of demons and enchantments that testify to the credulity of the author and of the age in which he lived. The work is still unpublished, two of its manuscripts are available in the library of the British Museum, London.³⁴

(iii) The *Kalimāt* as a Pioneer and Precursor

The *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* not only pioneered a distinct genre of hagiographies dealing with the *Ṣūfīs* of a particular region but also heralded the appearance of two important Naqshbandī biographical works, the *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* and the *Ḥadarat al-Quds*. The *Dhikr-i Jamī : Auliya : Dihli* by Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh bin Shaykh Jahān (born in 1080/1669-70) is a continuation of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*. Although Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh also starts his work with the *Ṣūfīs* of the early centuries, the real worth of his work lies in its latter part, that bridges the gap of more than one century, from the time of the *Kalimāt* to the composition of his own work in 1140/1728-28. This work is still in manuscript and copies of it are available in the India Office,³⁵ British Museum,³⁶ and the Punjab University Lahore, libraries.

The *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* of Khwāja Muḥammad Hāshim Kishmī³⁷ is essentially a biography of the author's spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, compiled at the request of the latter's sons. He had not proceeded far with his work when the Shaykh died in 1034/1624. Kishmī continued with his work however, and completed it in 1037/1627-28. His book is divided into two major parts, which in turn consist of several sections. The first part, besides treating of the biography and teachings of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bīllāh, contains notices on his

34. MSS. Add. 11633 and Or. 1929

35. Delhi Persian 594.

36. Or. 1746.

37. For his life, see *supra*

sons and *Khalīfas*. The second part comprises a comprehensive account of the life of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, wherein the author treats of his ancestors, his descendants, his teachings, his *Khalīfas* and his disciples at full length. The works of the Khwāja have been extensively drawn upon in the first part of the book, while the information about Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī is mainly first-hand and reliable. Being the earliest biography of one of the foremost lights of the Naqshbandiyya order, who not only consolidated the gains of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh but also endowed it with a new scope and dimension, the *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* occupies a unique position in the Naqshbandi literature of the Subcontinent. The information it gives about several of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's addressees makes it all the more important. The book has been published.³⁸

The *Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds* is another important biography of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī,³⁹ compiled by his favourite disciple Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Sirhindī. The author gives the *Darajāt al-Abrār* as the chronogrammatic name of the book, yielding 1043/1633-34 as its date of completion, but dates as late as 1053/1643-44 are also visible in the text. The book starts with the accounts of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, which are followed by the notices of the Naqshbandi saints down to Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. The first of the three chronograms that Shaykh Badr al-Dīn reproduces in connection with Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh's death, belongs to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, though he does not mention him by name. The account of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh is followed by the notes on his two sons, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh and Khwāja 'Abd Allāh and his three *Khalīfas* Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Sanbhalī, Khwāja Husām al-Dīn Ahmad Dihlawī and Shaykh Iahdād of Amroha. The rest of the book comprises the biography of the author's spiritual guide Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī and his descendants and *Khalīfas*. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn, however, does not devote as much space to the latter's father and his spiritual preceptors as had been done by the earlier biographer, Khwāja Hāshim Kishmī. Until recently only the Urdu translation⁴⁰ of the *Ḥaḍarāt* was generally available, but now the portion of the Persian text dealing with the life of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī and his descendants and *Khalīfas*, has also been published.⁴¹

Another important feature of the *Kalīmāt al-Ṣādiqīn* that attracted

38. Kanpur, 1890.

39. For his life, see *supra*.

40. Tr. Maulawī Khwāja Ahmad Husayn Khān (Lahore, n.d.), in two volumes.

41. Lahore, 1971.

the attention of the later writers is the authenticity of the dates mentioned in this book. Muhammad bin Rastam bin Qubād, author of the *Ta'rikh-i Muhammadī*, a monumental work on the chronology of the political events and the dates of the celebrated men of Islam down to the year 1190, 1776-77, refers to it as one of his basic authorities.⁴²

(iv) The Kings of Delhi

However vital might have been the contribution of the *Sūfīs* and mystics in the consolidation and spread of Islam in India there is no denying the fact that the credit for elevating this exotic creed to the status of a state religion, initiating a completely new social order encouraging Muslim learning, lore and languages, and popularizing the Perso-Islamic arts in this new, but historic, land mainly goes to the Turkish warriors and men of arms who became the Sultans of Delhi. The chronicles that followed the advent of Muslim power in India were essentially the records of these kings and conquerors and as such, generally revolved around their camps, campaigns and conquests. Using the canopy of the imperial court as their observation post, these historians, and their successors, evinced little interest in the passion and pain, the joy and sorrow, of the common man. If the *Sūfīs* and sages engaged the attention it was mainly due to any or all, of these considerations: the writer had some personal links with the saint, the mention of the relations of the latter with the ruling monarch illuminated some otherwise obscure aspect of his patron's life or at least depicted the auspicious character of his reign. On the other hand the *Sūfī* literature — hagiographies, hagiographies, collection of discourses and anthologies of letters — also treated of the rulers in a very superficial manner and, except for a few casual remarks, hardly paid any heed to their activities and achievements. On the contrary, what they really portrayed vividly and vigorously were the ambitions and aspirations of the common man. It was his relief and grief, his weal and woe, that found expression in their works besides, indeed, their own teachings, preachings and principles. Towards the close of the eminent men of the past as well as those of their own times, Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Abū al-Faḍl, and Firishta gave succinct accounts of the *Sūfīs* and scholars in their histories, while Badāyūnī devoted the whole of the third volume of his celebrated *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* to the biographies of his contemporaries, distinguished in the fields of mysticism, medicine and scholastic studies. It was with this background that Ṣādiq Hamadānī resorted to the innovation of interweaving the accounts of the

42. British Museum Ms. Or. 1824, f. 4b.

Muslim monarchs of Delhi — the Slaves, the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs, the Sayyids, the Afghāns, the Mughuls, and the Sūrī interregnum — in the warp and woof of his work which was basically a *Ṣūfī* biography. These accounts, which are spread throughout the *Kalīmāt* and endow it with an historical undertone, do not follow any chronological order or dynastic sequence, the author places them wherever he thinks convenient. Mostly, however, the account of every king follows the notice of one of his contemporary *Ṣūfīs*. Rulers of little or no significance belonging to a common dynasty are usually strung together and mentioned as part of the account of some major monarch of that house.

Among the books mentioned by Ṣādiq Hamadānī as his source — ‘the *Akhyār al-Akhyār*, the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd*, the *Sayr al-Auliya'*, the *Siyar al-ʿArifīn*, the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* and other tracts’⁴³ — there is only one political chronicle, the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* of Qaḍī Abu ʿUmar ʿUthmān ibn Minhaj-i Saraj Juḡanī, which is a general history of the Muslim dynasties of Asia, extending from 194-658 810-1260. The book is divided into 23 chapters, the last dealing with the irruption of the Mongol infidels into Islam. The 22nd chapter exclusively treats of the Shamsī kings, while the early Ghūrid invasions of India are discussed in the preceding chapter. The work, although meagre in details, is highly prized as one of the earliest authorities on the advent and establishment of Muslim power in northern India. All the accounts of the kings of the Slave dynasty, contained in the *Kalīmāt*, are based upon this book. The date of Sultan Shams al-Dīn’s death is, however, wrongly recorded in the latter⁴⁴.

For the accounts of the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs, and the Sayyids, Ṣādiq Hamadānī mainly relied on the *Sayr al-Auliya'*, the *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shāhī* of Ḍiya' al-Dīn Baranī and the *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* of Yahyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī. The dates of some of the incidents recorded in these works, and drawn upon by Ṣādiq Hamadānī in the *Kalīmāt*, however, defy corroboration by more reliable authorities. The detail follows:

- (i) Ṣādiq Hamadānī places the death of Sultān Ghayāth al-Dīn Balban and the accession of his successor and grandson, Mu'izz

43. Persian Text, p. 2.

44. Ṣādiq Hamadānī records 14 Sha'bān 633, 23 April 1235 as the date of his death but according to the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* (p. 450) the Sultan died on 20 Sha'bān, 633/29 April, 1235. Yahyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī (*Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain (Calcutta 1931, p. 20) also follows the *Tabaqāt*.

- al-Dīn Kayqubād in the year 685/1286-87⁴⁵ Baranī,⁴⁶ Amīr Khurd⁴⁷ and Firishṭa⁴⁸ also accept the same year for the latter's accession but according to Amīr Khusrāu the incident took place in 686/1287-88⁴⁹ 'Isāmī⁵⁰ and Yahyā⁵¹ also follow suit
- (ii) Like Baranī⁵² and Amīr Khurd,⁵³ Ṣādiq Hamadānī mentions 688/1289-90⁵⁴ as the year of the accession of Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī, but Amīr Khusrāu assigns this to the following year, 689/1290.⁵⁵ Yahyā Sirhindī also records the same year, but according to him the accession took place in Rabi' II and not in Jumada II, as mentioned by the latter⁵⁶
- (iii) The *Kalimāt* records 717 1317-18 as the year of the death of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī⁵⁷ and the accession to the throne by his son, Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh⁵⁸ According to Amīr Khusrāu, however, the Sultān died on 7 Shawwāl 715/6 January, 1316.⁵⁹
- (iv) According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh died in 721/1321.⁶⁰ This date runs counter to the statement of Amīr Khusrāu, according to whom the Sultān died in 720/1320. This date is also corroborated by numismatic evidence⁶¹

45. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 50. The year of the accession of Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubād, who succeeded his grandfather, however, curiously enough, is recorded (Persian Text, p. 46) as 680/1281-82, which can possibly be an error of the *Kātib*
46. *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shāhī*, p. 127
47. *S.A.*, p. 584
48. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 83
49. *Qirān al-Sa dayn*, p. 27
50. *Futūḥ al-Salātīn*, p. 52.
51. *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 52
52. *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shāhī*, p. 175
53. *S.A.* p. 587
54. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 46-47. After a few pages (*ibid.*, p. 53) 878/1473-74 is recorded as the year of his accession, which is incorrect.
55. *Miftah al-Futūḥ* quoted in the *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shāhī*, Urdu tr. Sayyid Ma'in al-Haqq (Lahore 1969), p. 277, fn. 2.
56. *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 61. For detail see K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis* (New York 1967), p. 15, fn. 1
57. Persian Text, p. 29.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 51
59. *Dawlat Rānī Khidr Khān*, ed. Rashid Ahmad Salim Ansari (Aligarh 1336/1917), p. 259. Also see K.S. Lal, p. 270, fn. 21.
60. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 51.
61. K.S. Lal, p. 322, fn. 45

The *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* closes abruptly in 838/1434. Thereafter what specific sources Ṣādiq Hamadānī drew upon, is rather difficult to say. In any case in the dates of this latter period also there are some discrepancies in the *Kalimāt*. But, as is abundantly clear from the instances quoted above and the ones that follow, these discrepancies plague almost all the general histories and are not particularly the share of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*. However, three more dates found inharmonious with other authorities are as under:

- (i) Ṣādiq Hamadānī gives 847/1443-44 as the year of the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty.⁶² Badāyūnī⁶³ also has the same year, but according to Firishta⁶⁴ the Sultan died in 849/1446-47 and this date is accepted by the modern authorities.⁶⁵
- (ii) According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Shīr Shāh Surī died in 951/1544-45⁶⁶ whereas all other authorities unanimously assign his death to the year 952/1545-46.⁶⁷ His exact date of death, as recorded by Abū al-Faḍl⁶⁸ and Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh,⁶⁹ is 11 Rabī' I, 953/23 May 1545. He was succeeded by his son Salīm Shah Sūr.
- (iii) According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Salīm Shah died in 959/1551.⁷⁰ Abū al-Faḍl⁷¹ and Firishta⁷² assign his death to the year 960/1552-53 whereas Badāyūnī⁷³ and Ni'mat Allāh⁷⁴ place it in the year 961/1553-54 and the same is accepted by modern historians.⁷⁵

62. *Kalimāt* Persian Text, p. 116.

63. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 397.

64. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 171.

65. See *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 399, fn. 7, C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh 1967), p. 187.

66. *Kalimāt*, Persian text, pp. 117, 125.

67. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 482, 484, Abū al-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma* ed. Aghā Aḥmad 'Alī and Maulawī 'Abd al-Rahīm (Calcutta 1887), Vol. I, p. 336, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 229, Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh, *Ta'rikh-i Khān-i Jahānī*, ed. S.M. Ināim al-Dīn (Dacca 1960), Vol. I, p. 351.

68. Abū al-Faḍl, Vol. I, p. 336.

69. *Ta'rikh-i Khān-i Jahānī*, Vol. I, p. 386.

70. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 117.

71. *Akbar-nāma*, Vol. I, p. 337.

72. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 231.

73. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., p. 533. Some manuscripts of the *M.T.* have 590/1552 also. See *ibid.*, fn. 2.

74. *Ta'rikh-i Khān-i Jahānī*, Vol. I, p. 386.

75. See C.E. Bosworth, p. 187. Edward Thomas (*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, p. 410), Stanley Lane-Poole (*The Muhammadan Dynasties*, New York 1975 repr., p. 300) and Ihtisāq Husain Qureshi (*The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 4th rev. edn., Karachi, 1958, p. 264), however, hold 960/1545 as the year of Iulīm Shāh's death.

About the Sur kings (947-962, 1540-55) the attitude of our author is also characterized by the general mood of his times. Flourishing as he did under the Mughuls, like other historians of that period he also looked upon them as usurpers and persisted in referring to them as Khans instead of Shans. Whether he really nursed any hatred against the Sur kings or simply followed the time-honoured convention of Mughul historians to condemn them, is open to all sorts of speculations.

IX. THE PRESENT RECENSION

(i) Manuscripts

The present recension of the *Kalimāt* is based upon four manuscripts, the first of which¹ dated 19 Ramadān 1123, 31 October 1711, is preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Radawī Library, Mashhad, Iran. Copied by one 'Abd Allāh Kātib in mature Nasta'liq it consists of 312 pages, with 6½" by 3" written space and 15 lines to a page. The names of the *Sufis* at the beginning of their notices and the word *Kalimat* that marks the start of each of their aphorisms are in rubric. The manuscript is without pagination but the pages 126-129 are erroneously placed between pages 221-222. Although the last few pages are slightly moth-eaten, the manuscript is in a generally good condition. The letter (ف) in the section on variants in the Persian portion stands for this manuscript.

The 2nd manuscript of the *Kalimāt*, and the only one noticed by Storey², is preserved in the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library³, Patna, India. Transcribed in ordinary Nasta'liq by an anonymous scribe for Sayyid Ghulam 'Alī son of Sayyid Sa'd al-Dīn bin Sayyid Muhammad Sādiq bin Sayyid Muhammad Sādiq Ma'nawī, son of Qudwat al-Fudala' Sayyid 'Abd al-Wahid, of Shāhābād, a suburb of Shāhjahān-ābād, this manuscript comprises 117 folios, out of which folio 19 is misplaced between folios 10 and 11. Written space on each page of this manuscript measures 6½" by 3½" and there are 15 lines to a page. The titles and the word *Kalima* throughout the manuscript are written in red ink. Folios 1 and 82 bear the owner's stamps, but in the rather poor quality of the microfilm at our disposal, they are too vague to be deciphered. Among the orthographic peculiarities of this manuscript which

1. MS. No. 283 (History) - 7876

2. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* London, 1953, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 983, No. 1311

3. MS. No. 671. This library was previously known as the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

set it apart from the others, the following are particularly important

The letter (ا) is generally transcribed as (ی) and in places where by rule and requirement (ئی) or (می) would have been necessary, a simple (یی) has been made use of. Likewise, the round (ق) at the end of words of Arabic origin, which generally changes into a straight (ت) in Persian writings, has been retained as it is, with the result that *ḥamīd* is written as *ḥamīq*. Moreover, *hamza* is not only seen at the end of Arabic words, such as *Ulama'* and *Khulafa'*, but sometimes it has been unnecessarily added to Persian words as well. For example, *ḥurūd* is written as *ḥurūd*. In fact, the scribe has been so indiscriminate in the use of *hamza* that he failed to differentiate between its grammatically correct usage as in *ḥamīd* and where it violated all rules, like in *ḥamīd* and *ḥamīd*. Sometime *ḥamīd* has also been employed as *idāfī*, but still a *hamza* has been superimposed over it, as in *ḥamīd* and *ḥamīd*. Though a common feature of the Indian origin, this *hamza* is redundant. The letter (ب) in the section on variants denotes the manuscript

The 3rd manuscript of the *Kalimat*, rubber-stamped 'Muhammad Ibrāhīm Khālī' on fol. 1 a, presently forms part of the private collection of Mr 'Anīs Naushahī, of Islamabad. It is probably the best and the oldest of all the known codices (cracked with the patina of age, bound together with an equally old manuscript of the *Musafīr Nāma*, a travelogue of doubtful authenticity⁴ attributed to Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Bukharī generally known as *Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht* (d. 785/1384), written in the same hand, and rich in a variety of marginal notations, mostly in an intricate *Shikasta* style, the manuscript is transcribed in mature *Nasta'liq*, and its written space measures 6¾" by 3½", with 15 lines to a page. Out of its total 166 folios, the folios 27-29, which appear between folios 26-30, should actually follow folio 13. Unlike other manuscripts, here the word *Kalima* is not accompanied by the relevant numeral, but on the other hand, wherever there occurs a verse in the course of the narrative, it is almost invariably preceded by the caption *bayr* in rubric. The most important distinctive feature of this manuscript, however, is the notice of Mūr Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad generally

4 C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. I, Part 1. London, 1927-39, p. 945. Riazul Islam 'Collection of the Malfuzat of Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān (1307-88)', *The Proceedings of the All Pakistan History Conference First Session Held at Karachi - 30th, 31st March and 1st April, 1951* compiled by S. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1953 (?), p. 216, Muhammad Ayūb Qādirī, *Ḥadīrat Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht*, Karachi, 1975, pp. 84-88.

known as Ghazī Khan Badakhshī which follows the account of Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Jaunpūrī. The letter (ع) in the section on variants indicates this manuscript

The 4th manuscript of the *Kalimat* belongs to Dr. Qurayshī Aḥmad Husayn Aḥmad Qaī‘adārī, of Gujrat. Deficient in the first few pages, it starts from the middle of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī’s notice and in all comprises 95 folios, out of which folios, 7, 88 and 89 are blank. There are 15 lines to a page whose inner dimensions are 6¼” by 4”. The manuscript which once formed part of the library of one Murza Muḡhul Bēg Khān and then during the last quarter of the 13th/19th century was acquired by Faqīr Allāh Sādhū Saḥḥāf Lahaurī, owing to the perpetual depredations of the insects, has been reduced to a critical condition. The letter (و) in the section of variants refers to this manuscript

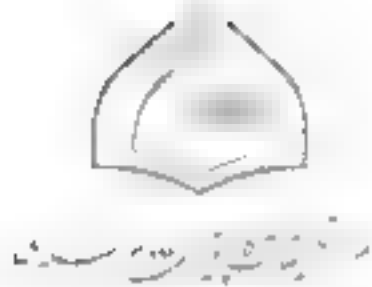
(L) Methodology

The time span during which the manuscripts described above were gradually discovered and made use of in the preparation of the present recension of the *Kalimat al-Ṣādiqīn* extends well over a decade and a half. Given the rather mediocre quality of the manuscript (و), the only one noticed by Storey, the discovery of the Mashhad codex, the date of whose transcription went as far back as 1123/1711, that is, exactly one hundred years since the composition of the actual work, and which was not only complete in all respects, but was also copied quite legibly finally turned out to be the leaven for the whole project. It was chosen as the basis of the proposed critical recension and in the course of the work, if any lacuna or ambiguity was encountered, it was overcome with the help of the extremely poor microfilm available of the Patna manuscript. Meanwhile, the search for more and better manuscripts of the *Kalimat* continued unrelented, until a couple of years ago, when the present work was going to the press, the present writer, quite unexpectedly, within a brief period of a few months, stumbled upon two manuscripts designated (ع) and (و) above. Although the quality of the Manuscript (ع), which was probably as old as the *Kalimāt* itself, strongly favoured its choice as the basis of the new edition, owing to constraints of time and resources, instead the improvements and emendations following from the latest two finds were incorporated into the existing text, which was to a great extent, based upon manuscript (و). As a natural consequence of this compromise, the additional notice of ‘Mīr Nizām al-Dīn’ found only in manuscript (ع), had to be

shifted to the end of the Persian Text as an Appendix, which, in its turn, was followed by the section entitled (اختلافات نسخ) encompassing the variants characterizing each of the four manuscripts used.

Whereas in the original manuscripts the notices of various monarchs have been strung together with the accounts of their contemporary *Sūfis* and they go virtually unnoticed, to make them distinct from the ordinary narrative, wherever these monarchs have been treated for the first time, a bolder type has been used for their names.

The points calling for elaboration, or the portions of the text whose sources were traceable, or which had been drawn upon or reproduced by subsequent writers in their works, have been marked out with an asterisk. Necessary information about the points thus marked can be found in the section entitled Annotations, immediately following this Introduction by referring to the corresponding page and the line number of the Persian Text, recorded at the start of each entry.



ANNOTATIONS TO THE PERSIAN TEXT

- * *Page 1, l. 5* *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 256, Hujwiri, p. 70.
- * *Page 1, l. 6* Qur'ān 10:62
- * *Page 1, l. 19* 'Attār, p. 9.
- * *Page 2, l. 20* The defective nature of the available manuscripts has rendered it impossible to work out the chronogram
- * *Page 4, l. 23* *Qitrān al-Sa'dayn* (Nawā'ishore edn 1871), pp. 22-25
- * *Page 6, l. 6* According to the *Siyar al-'Arifin*, his father died when he was one and a half years old ¹
- * *Page 6, l. 16* He was a disciple of Shaykh Abu Sa'īd Tabrizī ² a strict anchorite who would not accept any offering whatsoever ³ After his death, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn attached himself to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, ⁴ and served him with such zeal and enthusiasm that the great Shaykh lavishly bestowed his spiritual blessings on him. Suhrawardī was still alive when Jalāl Tabrizī left for India via Nishapur and Multan ⁵ From Multan he went to Delhi where he enjoyed the best of relations with Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī ⁶ His sojourn in Delhi, however, culminated in a sad episode. Najm al-Dīn Suhrawardī, the Shaykh al-Islām of Delhi, tried to implicate him in a fake case of sexual intemperance. Although the conspiracy ultimately recoiled on the Shaykh al-Islām himself, and Shaykh Jalāl was exonerated, by that time he had already been banished from Delhi whence he went to Badayūn ⁷ In Badayūn his main acquaintance was Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'farī, ⁸ and those upon whom he conferred his spiritual beatitude were 'Alī Maula ⁹ and 'Alā' al-Dīn Usūbī, later on a

1. See Jamālī, p. 17
 2. *F.F.*, p. 113, *K.M.*, p. 151
 3. *F.F.*, pp. 194-95, *K.M.*, p. 151
 4. *F.F.*, p. 194
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 121
 6. *F.F.*, p. 165
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59, *A.A.*, p. 43; cf. *F.F.*, p. 147
 8. *F.F.*, pp. 249-50; *K.M.*, pp. 211-12.
 9. *F.F.*, p. 147, *A.A.*, pp. 43-44.

teacher of Shaykh Nuṣīm al-Dīn Auliyā'.¹⁰ Otherwise, like Qādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, he was also very strict in the acceptance of disciples.¹¹ Towards the later years of his age, he went to Bengal and ultimately died there.¹²

- Page 6, l 20 (Lucknow 1890), pp. 67-68
- Page 6, l 21 S.A., p. 48
- Page 6, l 22 Imām Abū al-Layth Naṣr bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Khattāb al-Samarqandī, a famous Hanafite theologian, traditionalist and juriconsult of 4th, 10th century. He was born in 290/902-3. He studied under his father and various other Shaykhs whose names he mentions in the *Tanbih al-Ghāfilīn* as transmitters of some of the Traditions of the Prophet and sayings of others quoted by him in that book. As an author he was very successful and his works were and are still studied from Morocco to Indonesia. He passed away sometime between 373/983-84 and 393/1002-3, 373/983-84 being the year recorded in his earliest known biography and more popularly quoted by later hagiologists. Two of his works, namely the *Bustan al-Arifīn* and the *Tanbih al-Ghāfilīn* are preserved in Khudā Baksh Public Library, Patna.¹³
- Page 6, l 1 Shaykh Abū Ḥamid Auhad al-Dīn of Kurmān, was a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Sanjasi, who traced his spiritual lineage to Shaykh Abū Najīb Suhrawardī through Shaykh Qaṣb al-Dīn Abharī.¹⁴ He enjoyed the best of relations with such great contemporaries as Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī,¹⁵ and Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Arabī. The latter even mentioned his name in some of his works.¹⁶ His encounter with Shams-i Tabrīz, the famous preceptor of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is also mentioned by some authorities. According to them, Auhad al-Dīn was in the habit of 'contemplating the Truth through the medium of its Manifestations in Phenomena, and beholding Absolute Beauty in finite form'. On being asked by Shams-i Tabrīz, as to what he was doing, he replied that he was contemplating the Moon in a bowl of water, meaning the Beauty of the Creator in the beauty of the creature, to which Shams-i Tabrīz replied 'Unless you are afflicted with a carbuncle on the back of your neck why do you not look at the Moon in the sky'.¹⁷ In his moments of poetical ecstasy he would compose mystical verses which can be seen in subsequent biographical works.¹⁸ The authorship of an allegorical *Mathnawī*, the *Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, which has a remarkable affinity to the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, has also, throughout the

10 FF, p. 179

11 Ibid., p. 38.

12 A.A., p. 45

13 Bankipore, Vol. XIII, pp. 2-3. Also see *l. 1*, xv 'Abū Layth al-Samarqandī'

14 *Nafahāt*, p. 588. Cf. Daulatshah, p. 233. Browne, Vol. III, p. 139.

15 FF, p. 39. A.A., p. 57

16 *Nafahāt*, pp. 588-89

17 Ibid., Browne, p. 139

18 FF, p. 40, *Nafahāt*, p. 591, Browne, p. 140

centuries, been attributed to him.¹⁹ But modern research has made it abundantly clear that the work is actually the composition of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardsīrī Kirmānī, and not that of Aḥmad al-Dīn Kirmānī.²⁰ Similarly, the long held belief of Aḥmadī of Maragha's being a disciple of Aḥmad al-Dīn Kirmānī,²¹ has also been challenged by modern scholars for anachronistic reasons.²² Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dīn is generally believed to have died *circa* 635-36/1237-39.²³

Page 6, l 25 *Riqāl-i ghayb* or the invisible men were believed to be a mysterious creature which attracted the attention of their favourite pious people, talked to them without being seen and even carried them off to their own place of residence. In the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*,²⁴ we read that a young contemporary of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was frequently visited by these spirits. At the time of the obligatory prayers, those who were present at his house arranged themselves in an orderly fashion and one of these *Mardān-i ghayb* led the congregational prayers. The worshippers heard him recite the Qur'ān and followed his commands throughout the prayers, but they never saw him. One of these invisible men even sent a present to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī through that youth.

According to yet another anecdote narrated by the Khwāja,²⁵ a man called Khwāja 'Alī used to be visited by these spirits who always greeted him in the usual Muslim fashion. Once they called on him in a large number and repeated the salutation "Peace unto you". Khwāja 'Alī lost his temper and said that how long they would continue greeting him in that manner and why they did not come face to face with him. The *Mardān-i ghayb* did not like this attitude and stopped visiting Khwāja 'Alī.

The Mughul emperors, Humāyūn²⁶ and Akbar also believed in the existence of these creatures. The latter is even reported to have invoked their assistance in one of his battles.²⁷ In 1143, 1730-31 a number of Bīlgrāmī Sayyids were killed in a battle between Nawwāb Sarbaland Khān and Raja Abhī Singh Rāthōr. According to Sayyid Muḥammad since the body of one Sayyid Ghulām Muṣṭafā

19. *Nafahāt*, p. 591, Browne, p. 140, Rypka, p. 254.

20. *Mizbān al-Arwāḥ*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān-i Furūzānfar (Tehran 1349 H Sh.), Introduction.

21. *Dawlatshāh*, pp. 232-33, *Nafahāt*, p. 606, Browne, p. 141, Rypka, p. 254.

22. *Ṣafa*, Vol. III, p. 833.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Khwāja Nuzām al-Dīn Auliya', *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* comp. Amīr Hasan Sijzī 'Alā', Urdu tr. Muḥammad Sarwar, Lahore, 1973, pp. 69-70.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Khwāja Nūrmat Adīb, *Ta'rikh-i Khānshāhī wa Makhzan-i Afghānī*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Imām al-Dīn, Dacca, 1960, Vol. I, pp. 3, 11-12.

27. Hājī Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī *Ta'rikh-i Akbarī*, ed. Sayyid Mu'in al-Dīn Nadwī and Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alī Dihlawī, and revised by Imthyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, Rāmpur, 1962, p. 179.

could not be discovered from the battlefield probably it had been whisked away by the *Mardān-l-ghayb*.²⁸

Page 7, l 1

In the mystical hierarchy of Islam, Hasan al-Basrī occupies a very distinguished position of being a link between 'Alī, the patriarch of Islamic mysticism, and the succeeding generations of Muslim saints and mystics. Although writers who sought to discredit the *Sūfī*, such as Ibn al-Jauzī, have cast doubts about his meeting with 'Alī,²⁹ he is generally held to be the transmitter of 'Alī's spiritual grace, benediction and heritage to posterity.³⁰ He was born in Madinah, named Hasan on the advice of 'Umar,³¹ and spent his early childhood under the care of Umm Salmā, one of the wives of the Prophet, in whose house his mother served as a maid-servant.³² He received his education at Basra and grew to be one of the foremost theologians, a distinguished scholar of different sciences, a veritable *Muhaddith* and an extremely eloquent preacher.³³ Anguish and grief were so distinct in his appearance that whosoever saw him thought that some calamity of unthinkable magnitude had befallen him.³⁴ His self-mortification uncompromising piety and outspoken condemnation of worldliness which often stirred the wrath of the aristocracy against him,³⁵ were proverbial. When he was delivering his sermons even the presence of the most notorious of tyrants, Hajjāj bin Yūsuf, and the army of his bodyguards accustomed in the panoply of war, would not deter him from uttering what he believed to be right, fair and perfect.³⁶ Similarly if he noticed that somebody was in the wrong and would not rectify his error of belief or deed, he would not hesitate in driving him out of his audience and that was exactly what he did in the case of Wāṣil bin 'Aṭā' al-Ghazza, the head of the *Mu'tazila*.³⁷ He died at Basra, on 1 Rajab, 110/10 October, 728.³⁸

• Page 7, l 2

According to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dīhlawī the correct word is not *Hārūnī*, but *Harūnī*, without *alif*, and it referred to the place

- 28 Sayyid Muhammad Bilgāmī, *Taḥṣūt al-Nāẓirīn* MS. Pīr Husām al-Dīn Rāshidī Collection, Karachi (1979), p. 167.
- 29 Tibbīs *Iblīs*, Cairo edn., 1928, p. 191 quoted in J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sūfī Orders in Islam* (Oxford 1971), p. 262 note 1.
- 30 E.g., see Abu Ṭalīb al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb* Cairo, 1310, Vol. I p. 149 quoted in *E I* s.v. 'Hasan al-Basrī'.
- 31 'Aṭṭār, pp. 30-31.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 69, *Sīma* Vol. I, p. 370.
- 33 See Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma' fī-Tasawwuf* ed. R. A. Nicholson (London 1963 repr.), pp. 17, 22, 25, 142, 422, 344 and 425. Haywī, p. 103 Nicholson, p. 80. 'Aṭṭār, pp. 30-48, Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II pp. 69-73 *Sīma* Vol. I pp. 370-373.
- 34 Qushayrī, p. 210.
- 35 See *E I* s.v. 'Hasan al-Basrī'.
- 36 'Aṭṭār, p. 34.
- 37 Abū Mansūr Abd al-Kāfir Ibn Tāhir al-Baghdādī, *Muslim Schisms and Sects (Al-Fark Bain al-Firak)* tr. Kate Chambers Steele (New York, 1966) p. 121.
- 38 Ibn Khallikān p. 72, *Sīma*, Vol. I, p. 364.

of origin of Hadrat Khwāja 'Uthmān³⁹

- * *Page. 7, 15* As is apparent from his cognomen, Shāmī, Khwāja Abū Ishāq Shāmī was a native of Shām (Syria). According to Jāmī, he was an associate of Shaykh Abū Mamshad 'Awwā Dunwari, who traced his spiritual origin through Shaykh Hubayra Basrī and Shaykh Hudhayfa Mar'ashī to Shaykh Ibrāhīm Adham.⁴⁰ His tomb is also at Acca in Syria,⁴¹ but true to the long standing tradition of mystics peregrinating from one part of the world to the other, he also appears to have travelled extensively. He was in Chisht before the birth of his prospective disciple and later successor, Khwāja Abū Ahmad Abdāl Chishū, in 260/873-74, whose birth and then pre-eminence as a saint and founder of a distinct order of mystics he is said to have prophesied.⁴² Khwāja Abū Ishāq possibly stayed for a long time in and around Chisht because it was at the age of twenty that Khwāja Abū Ahmad, while on a hunting expedition, came across him in the midst of forty other saints, and renouncing the world joined his company.⁴³ Biographical details about Khwāja Abū Ahmad are also scarce, however, his father is said to have been a member of the ruling echelon of the day, who tried his best to dissuade his son from adopting the mystic way of life, but to no avail. Khwāja Abū Ahmad died in 355/965-66 and was buried in Chisht. He was succeeded by his twenty-four year old son, Khwāja Abū Muḥammad whom he had particularly groomed for the position. He was a contemporary of Mahmūd (388-421/998-1030) but Jāmī's statement that he took part in the latter's expedition to Somnath, at the age of seventy⁴⁴ is anomalous and chronologically incongruous with the historical facts. If he was twenty-four at the time of his father's death in 355/965-66, he should have been seventy in 401/1010-11, whereas the expedition to Somnath, according to Al-Bīrūnī, Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr, took place in 416/1025.⁴⁵ The year 401/1010, however, coincides with the final subjugation of Multan by Mahmūd.⁴⁶

Khwāja Abū Muḥammad bin Abū Ahmad was succeeded by his sister's son, Khwāja Yūsuf whom he had brought up under his own extensive care and supervision. Khwāja Yūsuf renounced the world at a comparatively later age and took to a life of seclusion and severe ascetic austerities. This phase of his life continued for about twelve years. When Khwāja Abd Allāh Ansārī came to visit

39. *Khayr al-Majalis*. Urdu tr. (Karachi: Wahid Book Depot n.d.), p. 45. Cf. *Ta'rikh-i Sistan* ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran, 1314 (?) H. Sh.), p. 327, where a place called Harwin has been mentioned in Sistan. Apparently, Shaykh 'Uthmān hailed from this town.
40. *Vajihāt*, pp. 322-23.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 323; Sayyid Asū al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Wa'iz *Maqsid al-Iqbal Sultāniyya*, ed. Ma'ūl Harawī (Tehran 1351 H. Sh.), pp. 119-20.
43. *Nafahat*, p. 323, *Maqsid al-Iqbal*, p. 120.
44. *Nafahat*, p. 324, also see *Maqsid al-Iqbal*, p. 121.
45. Muḥammad Nazim *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), p. 214.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

the tombs at Chisht, he met Khwāja Yūsuf also and was so impressed by his spiritualism and piety that later on, during the course of his conversations, he used to recall that meeting and praise his sanctimony. Khwāja Yūsuf died in 459/1066-67, at the age of 84 leaving his eldest son Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd as his successor.⁴⁷

Khwāja Maudūd was twenty-six at the time of his succession. He had memorized the Qur'ān at the age of seven and was still busy in the acquisition of knowledge at the time of his succession. None the less, he appears to have been a haughty and proud man until he was ultimately mellowed by his contemporary Shaykh Ahmad Jām. The latter once visited Harat and was very cordially received by the inhabitants of the town including the descendants of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Ansārī. Shaykh Maudūd who was eight years older than Shaykh Jām, construed it to be a challenge to his supremacy and an undue interference in his spiritual domain, and tried to throw him out, first by spiritual power, falling which the recourse to physical force was also contemplated. But Shaykh Ahmad Jām's pre-emptive strike frustrated his designs and obliged him to accept his spiritual superiority. Thereafter he remained for three days in Shaykh Jām's company and benefited from his beatitude. Before seeing him off, Shaykh Jām exhorted him to first equip himself with knowledge, since a mystic without knowledge was not more than a pawn in the hand of Satan, and then dedicate himself to the revitalization of the mystical heritage of his great ancestors. Accordingly, Shaykh Maudūd travelled to Balkh and Bukhara in pursuit of knowledge and remained there for four years, thence he came back to Chisht and worked assiduously for the revival and consolidation of the Chishtīyya order, for the rest of his life. He died in 527/1132-33, leaving his son, Khwāja Ahmad Maudūd as his successor.⁴⁸

Shāh Sanjān Rukn al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 597/1200-01) and Khwāja Hājji Sherif Zandarī were two of the other prominent disciples of Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī. Jāmī⁴⁹ gives a brief notice about the former but the latter's name appears in Indian chronicles⁵⁰ only and they too fail to provide any substantial information about him. Similarly, little is known about the life of his disciple, Khwāja 'Uthmān Haratī Nishāpūrī, the spiritual preceptor of Khwāja Mu'tīn al-Dīn Chishtī.

Page 7, l. 7. Hudhayfa bin Qatāda Mar'ashī was a disciple of Ibrāhīm bin Adham and appears to have accompanied him during at least, some of his wanderings.⁵¹ His contemporaries held him in high esteem and looked upon him as a

47. *Nafahāt*, pp. 325-26, *Maqsid al-Iqbal*, pp. 122-23.

48. Khwāja Sadīd al-Dīn Muhammad Ghaznawī, *Maqarīn-i Zhandā Pīl*, ed. Hashmat Ali, Mu'ayyid-i Sanandjī (Tehran 1349 H Sh.), pp. 63-65. *Nafahāt*, pp. 326-29. *Maqsid al-Iqbal*, pp. 123-24. *Tara'iq al-Haqā'iq*, Vol. II, p. 134.

49. *Nafahāt*, pp. 329-30.

50. 'Isāmī, *Futuh al-Salātīn*, ed. A. S. Usha (Madras, 1948), A.M. p. 8.

51. Qushayrī, pp. 259-60.

paragon of piety.⁵² He died in 207/822-23.⁵³

- * **Page 7, l. 7** Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin Adham bin Maṣṣūr is said to have been a ruler of Balkh who renounced his sceptre and crown and took to a life of piety and asceticism.⁵⁴ He owed his spiritual initiation to the Prophet Khudār and learned the knowledge of divinity from Imām Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān bin Thābit.⁵⁵ He is reported to have lived and travelled with a large number of contemporary Sūfīs, including Fuṣayl bin 'Iyāq, Sufyān Thaurī,⁵⁶ Sahl bin Ibrāhīm,⁵⁷ Muḥammad bin Mubārak al-Suri,⁵⁸ and Abū Ibrāhīm Yamānī.⁵⁹ He led a life of simplicity and austerity and made out his subsistence with the labour of his own hand⁶⁰ but still his self-abnegation and concern for the welfare and comfort of others was remarkable. This latter quality of his character captured the imagination of Leigh Hunt who wrote the following poem about him.⁶¹

Abou ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said
"What writest thou?" The vision raised his head,
And with a look made all of sweet accord,
Answered "The names of those who love the Lord",
"And is mine one?" said Abou, "Nay not so",
Replied the angel Abou spoke more low
But cheerily still, and said "I pray thee then
Write me as one that loves his fellow men"
The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
He came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had blest,
And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest

He died in 161/777-78

52. *Ibid.*, p. 167
53. *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*. Pt. 1, p. 62
54. Sulamī, p. 27, Qushayrī, p. 25, Hujwīrī, p. 128, Nicholson, p. 103, 'Attār, p. 102, *E I.*, s.v. 'Ibrāhīm Adham'
55. Hujwīrī, p. 128, Nicholson, p. 103
56. Sulamī, p. 27
57. Qushayrī, p. 26
58. *Ibid.*, p. 657
59. *Ibid.*, p. 679
60. *Ibid.*, p. 25
61. Claud Field *Mystics and Saints of Islam* (London 1910), pp. 44-45.

- * *Page 7, l 8* Fudayl bin 'Iyād bin Mas'ūd bin Bishr, of the tribe of Tamīm, was initially a notorious highwayman, but later on he repented of his sins and entered upon the path of piety and asceticism ⁶² He was so remorseful of his past career that the rest of his life was spent in the pursuit of divine knowledge and mystical lucubrations. He never laughed nor did a smile ever appear on his face except once when his son, 'Alī, died. Asked the reason for this seemingly unwarranted act on his part, 'God willed that this lad should die, so did I in compliance with His will', was his reply ⁶³ His exhortations and admonitions to Hārūn al-Rashīd⁶⁴ are a glaring proof of his disregard for the world and the worldlings. On the contrary, his life was so enshrouded in grief and agony that in 187,803,⁶⁵ when he passed away in Makkah,⁶⁶ 'Sadness disappeared (from the world)', was the spontaneous reaction of Ibn Mubārak ⁶⁷ one of his celebrated contemporaries.
- * *Page 7, l.10* A.A., p. 25
- * *Page 7, l.14* Ibid., p. 24
- * *Page 7, l.15* S.A., p. 49
- * *Page 7, l.18* F.F., p. 72, S.A., p. 49
- * *Page 7, l.22* S.A., pp. 40-50
- * *Page 8, l.3* F.F., pp. 120-121, S.A., p. 50
- * *Page 8, l.23* S.A., p. 15
- * *Page 9, l.4* See 'Attar p. 86
- * *Page 9, l.17* S.A., pp. 48-49)
- * *Page 9, l.2* The concept of '18,000 worlds' was introduced into Islamic literatures by the early Jewish converts to this new creed, especially by Abū 'Abd Allāh Wahab bin Munabbih ⁶⁸
- * *Page 10, l.2* A special type of bread, *Ka'k* and *cake* are respectively the

62 Qushayrī, p. 28, Hujwīrī, p. 120, Nicholson, p. 97

63 Qushayrī, p. 28

64 Hujwīrī, pp. 122-24, Nicholson, pp. 98-100

65 Sulamī, p. 8, Qushayrī, p. 27

66 Qushayrī, p. 28

67 Ibid.

68 For details, see Muhammad Parwān Gurnabzī *Hijūh Hazār Alam un Yūdnamih-i 'Allama Aminī*, ed. Sayyid Ja'far Shahīdī and Muhammad Raḍā Hakīmī, Tehran 1361 H Sh., pp. 2, 32

Arabicized and Angloized forms of this word, but, in these two languages, especially in English, the word has altogether different connotations.⁶⁹

* Page 10, 13 S.A., p 50

* Page 10, 13 Shaykh Bahā' al Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī was born in Kot Karor, near Multan. Having learnt the Qur'ān by heart and familiarized himself with its seven standard styles of recitation, after the death of his father, at the age of twelve, he set out on a long and hazardous journey which spread over a number of years, and took him to Transoxiana, Khurasan, Makkah, Madinah, Jerusalem and Baghdad. Through all these years he was busy in the acquisition of knowledge and the enhancement of his spiritual experience. So, by the time he met Shaykh Shihāb al Dīn in Baghdad, he was ripe to take over the mantle of responsibility. The great Shaykh kept him with himself for seventeen days and then, to the surprise of several of his old disciples, nominated him as his *Khawāṣṣ*⁷⁰ and directed him to go back to Multan and take in hand the task of popularizing the Suhrawardiyya order in that region.⁷¹ Reaching Multan, Bahā' al Dīn dedicated himself to the spreading and stabilizing of that order and, by the time he died in 661, 1262,⁷² Multan had become a renowned centre of Suhrawardiyya *Silsila*. Considering that this was a pioneer task and that he started it single-handedly and that, too, at a later date as compared to the contemporary Chishtiyya order, the stupendous amount of labour he had had to put in is not difficult to imagine.

Bahā' al Dīn laid more emphasis on obedience to the Qur'anic injunctions and the basic tenets of Islam both in letter and spirit, than on arduous ascetic exercises. Unlike contemporary Chishtī saints, he led a fairly affluent life and his *Khānqāh* was also quite well-known for its prosperity and opulence.⁷³ The latter evoked much criticism both from his contemporaries⁷⁴ and from succeeding generations of saints.⁷⁵

During the reign of Sultān Shams al-Dīn he was raised to the position of *Shaykh al-Islām*. This was both a lucrative and a prestigious position, and must have gone a long way in alleviating the miseries of his disciples at the hands of petty government officials.

69. See *Lughat-nāma-i Dihkhudā*, s.v. 'Kāk'. Sayyid Muhammad Ad-Imām Shūshtarī *Farhang-i Wāzih-hā-i Farṣi dar Zabān-i Arabi* Tehran, 1347 H Sh., s.v. *Kāk* (p. 585).

70. *Jamālī*, pp. 103-104.

71. *Ibid.* p. 106.

72. *A.A.*, p. 27.

73. See *F.F.* pp. 236-27.

74. See *A.A.*, pp. 29-30.

75. See Darā Shukūh. *Sakinat al-Jalāl* ed. Fata Chand and Sayyid Muhammad Rida Jalal. Nā'ini (Tehran n.d.), p. 6.

Though 'Irāqī was the most outstanding and reputed of all his *Khalīfas*,⁷⁶ Bahā' al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn 'Arif. Shaykh Ṣalāh al-Dīn Darwīsh, a contemporary of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was his disciple and *Khalīfa*. Besides him, Shaykh Jamāl Khandān Kūy-i Ūchī Darwīsh Sadr al-Dīn Sīstānī, Shaykh Ahmad bin Shaykh Muḥammad Ma'sūmī,⁷⁷ Maulānā 'Alī al-Dīn Khujandī⁷⁸ and Maḥmūd Husam al-Dīn Multānī⁷⁹ are also mentioned among his disciples, and recipients of his spiritual blessings.

Sadr al-Dīn 'Arif was, in his turn, succeeded by his son and *Khalīfa*, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Fath. Rukn al-Dīn visited Delhi twice during the days of Sultan 'Ala' al-Dīn Khalīj and thence during the reign of his son, Qutb al-Dīn.⁸⁰ The latter's relations with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn of Delhi, being far from cordial, he tried to make capital out of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn's visits to Delhi,⁸¹ but the amity and understanding that characterized the relations between the two saints frustrated all these attempts. On his last visit to Delhi during Qutb al-Dīn's time, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn stayed in Delhi for more than three years and he was still there when Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn passed away and his funeral prayer was led by him.⁸² Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn 'Uthman Shaykh Sunnamī and Sayyid Jalāl Maḥdūm Jahānyān were two of Rukn al-Dīn's most distinguished disciples. He died in 735/1334-35 and was buried in Multan.

- Page 10, l 7 F.F., pp. 120-121, S.A., p. 50
- Page 10, l 13 S.A., p. 50; ~~C.A., p. 52~~
- Page 10, l 14 S.A., ~~p. 52~~
- Page 10, l 16 S.A., p. 53.
- Page 10, l 23 S.A., pp. 53-54
- Page 11, l 4 For his grave see L.M. & H.M., Vol. III, p. 110, No. 184
- Page 11, l 15 S.A., p. 55
- Page 11, l 17 F.F., p. 262, S.A., p. 55
- Page 11, l 23 Shaykh Ahmad Jām nickname: Zhanda Pīl was a famous

76 Jamālī, pp. 108-10

77 *Ibid.*, p. 129

78 *Ibid.*, p. 131

79 *Ibid.*, p. 137

80 *Ibid.*, p. 142

81 A.A., p. 64

82 See A.A., p. 65

Sūfī who lived during the Saʿfīd period. He was born in 441, 1049-50 at Turshiz in Khurasan and led a somewhat boisterous life until at the age of twenty-two, in 463, 1070-71, he was overtaken by divine passion and his life took a turn for the better. He had no regular novice training, but sought his own way in solitude which lasted for about eighteen years. Thereafter he came out of seclusion and took over the task of guiding the people, which he continued until his death in 536, 1141-42, at the age of ninety-six. He was buried in Maʿdabad, which is now known as Turbat Shaykh Jām (Iran).⁸³

- Page 11, 1 25 *FF*, p. 159, *S.A.* p. 55 *G.A.* f. 22
- Page 12, 1 2 For a description of his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol III,
p. 47 No. 59
- Page 12, 1 3 *FF*, p. 159, *S.A.*, p. 55
- Page 12, 1 5 For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol III, p. 20, No. 9
- Page 12, 1 5 15 *Tabaqāt-i Anīsī*, Vol. I, pp. 440-42
- Page 13, 1 2 *ʿAtār*, p. 364
- Page 13, 1 17 *S.A.*, pp. 56-57
- Page 14, 1 21 For a description of her tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol III
p. 67 No. 135.
- Page 14, 1 24 *A.A.*, p. 28
- Page 15, 1 1 *Jamālī*, p. 12
- Page 15, 1 5 Authentic biographical details of his life have vanished. The only source of our information about him is Shaykh ʿIzzām al-Dīn Auliyaʾ, who made stray references to his miraculous deeds, in the course of his conversations.⁸⁴ Subsequent writers have simply repeated these anecdotes without substantially adding any new element into them.⁸⁵ All that is known about him is that he was a resident of Ghazni lived in the late 6th, 12th century and at least once, visited Balkh, where Maʿānā Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Asʿad al-Balkhī met with him. In view of his high stature and strong physique, Maʿānā Burhān al-Dīn was still wondering if he could be a man of God when the Shaykh accosted his attention and said: 'I have brought the heritage of my father. That is

83. For his life and works, see *Nafahāt*, p. 357; *Maqamat-i Zhandi Pīl* & *M.*, p. 77 1 1 & c.

84. *FF*, pp. 9, 65-66, 68, 169, 207; *S.A.*, pp. 572-73

85. *K.M.*, pp. 225-26, *A.A.*, p. 28.

why my physique is so strong'.⁸⁶

- * Page 15, 1.5 *K.M.*, pp. 225-26; *A.A.*, p. 28.
- * Page 15, 1.18 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 56, No. 77
- * Page 15, 1.19 *G.A.*, f. 19b. The entire account is based on *G.A.*, f. 19b.
- * Page 16, 1.10 *A.A.*, p. 36.
- * Page 16, 1.15 There is no such reference in the printed edition of the *Akhhār al-Akhyār*. See *A.A.*, pp. 36-43
- * Page 16, 1.23 *Jamīʿ*, p. 21
- * Page 17, 1.1 *F.F.*, p. 8
- * Page 17, 1.10 *S.A.*, pp. 256, 519
- * Page 17, 1.12 *F.F.*, p. 253; *S.A.*, p. 526.
- * Page 17, 1.13 *F.F.*, p. 252
- * Page 17, 1.16 A MS. of this work is preserved in the Habib Ganj Collection of the Muslim University, Aligarh
- * Page 17, 1.19 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 45, No. 56
- * Page 17, 1.20 *S.A.*, pp. 56-57
- * Page 18, 1.8 *A.A.*, p. 36; *F.F.*, p. 253; *S.A.*, p. 573.
- * Page 18, 1.13 *A.A.*, p. 36
- * Page 18, 1.14 *F.F.*, pp. 164-65; *S.A.*, p. 502
- * Page 18, 1.16 Shaykh Badr al-Dīn bin 'Alī bin Ishāq was a devoted disciple, *Khalīfa* and son-in-law of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganjī Shakar. He was a resident of Delhi. After the completion of his education in that city, to obtain further accomplishments he decided to go to Bukhara, the reputation of which as a great centre of learning had made it the coveted goal of every student and scholar in the Islamic world. On his way to Bukhara, he passed through Ajodhan where, on the recommendation of a friend, he decided to visit Shaykh Farīd and seek the

86. *S.A.*, pp. 572-73

answers to the questions that had been vexing his mind for some time and had remained unresolved even by the scholars at Dehi. The explanations he got from the Shaykh, however, far exceeded his expectations. The enormous knowledge of the Shaykh, combined with his extreme simplicity and austerity, so captivated his heart that Badr al Dīn enrolled as a disciple immediately. Consequently, he so distinguished himself in the service of his spiritual preceptor that the Shaykh not only entrusted him with the superintendence of the hospice but also gave him the hand of one of his daughters. After the Shaykh's death his relations with the Shaykh's descendants became strained and ultimately, at the instance of Sayyid Muhammad Kirmānī, another of the Shaykh's prominent *Khalīfas*, he left the main hospice to them, and shifted to a nearby *Jum'a* mosque.

He was the author of a book on rhetoric, styled *Tasrīf-i Badarī*. Shaykh Nizām al Dīn studied this book under him and was allowed by him to teach others.

Shaykh Badr al Dīn Ishāq died in Aodhan and was buried in the aforementioned mosque, where he had taught the Qur'ān during his lifetime.⁸⁷

- * Page 18, 1.24 F.F., p. 165.
- * Page 19, 1.4 A.A., p. 38.
- * Page 19, 1.8 A.A., p. 39.
- * Page 19, 1.23 Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā bin Mu'ādh bin Ja'far al-Wā'iz a.-Rāzī⁸⁸ was a well known ascetic and a distinguished preacher of his time. He was the first among his class to mount the pulpit after the Orthodox Caliphs.⁸⁹ His sermons always had a ring of hope and optimism around them. He was the author of many books, fine sayings and original precepts. 'Alī Hujwīrī was very fond of his sayings, which, according to him, were delicately moulded, pleasant to the ear, subtle in substance and profitable in devotion.⁹⁰ From his native town of Rayy, Yahyā went to Khurasan. His brother, Ibrāhīm, who was accompanying him died between Nishapur and Balkh⁹¹, while he himself reached Balkh and lived there for some time, whence he came back to Nishapur, where he died in 258/872.⁹²
- * Page 20, 1.17 See Hujwīrī, p. 70, 'Attar, p. 19, *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 256, *Sūfī-nama*, p. 183, *Misbāh al-Hidāya*, p. 378.

87. S.A., pp. 269-78. Also see *ibid.*, p. 192.

88. Sulamī, p. 107. His elder brother Isma'īl and younger brother, Ibrāhīm, were also ascetics.

89. Hujwīrī, p. 153, Nicholson, pp. 122-123.

90. *Ibid.*

91. Sulamī, p. 107.

92. *Ibid.* Qushayrī, p. 43, *Tabaqat al-Kubra*, Vol. II, p. 81 *Yasfahāt*, p. 56.

- Page 20, l.21 See Hujwiri, p. 75
- Page 21, l.5 FF., p. 187, S.A., p. 343
- Page 21, l.13 G.A., f. 13
- Page 21, l.22 G.A., f. 23
- Page 22, l.4 See G.A., f. 24
- Page 22, l.17 FF., pp. 205-206
- Page 23, l.6 FF., pp. 206, 271
- Page 23, l.13 For the tomb of Bibi Sarā, see L.M. & H.M., Vol. III, p. 40, No. 46
- Page 23, l.14 For his grave, see L.M. & H.M., Vol. III, p. 40, No. 45
- Page 23, l.22 A.A. (p. 45)/cadd

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- Page 23, l.23 *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabawīya fī Sihah al-Akhbar al-Mustafawīya*,⁹³ by Hasan bin Muhammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) is a collection of *Hadīth* taken from the author's two works, *Mishah al-Dujā* and *al-Shams al-Munira*, and *al-Shihāh*⁹⁴ by Quḍā'ī (d. 454/1064), and *al-Najm* by Iqlīshī (d. 550y, 1155). Traditions are arranged according to 100 grammatical regents ('amīl),⁹⁵ and each tradition is accompanied by a reference to Bukhari and Muslim. Hājī Khalīfa has noticed several commentaries on this work.⁹⁶
- Page 23, l.23 The author of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*, Abū al-Fadā'ī Imām Hasan bin Muḥammad bin Hasan bin Ḥaydar bin 'Alī al-'Adawī al-Ṣaghānī⁹⁷ commonly called Raḍī al-Dīn, was born at Badayun in 577/1181. During his early

93. The work with an Urdu translation by Mauwā'ī Khurram 'Allī was lithographed in Lucknow, in A.H. 1319.

94. This book has been very popular over the centuries and several commentaries, translations and condensations of it have been compiled. See *Sharḥ-i Fārsī Shihāb al-Akhbar*, ed. Muhammad Taqī Dānush Pizhuh (Tehran 1349, H.Sh.), Preface, pp. i-iv. The author of the commentaries noted on series nos. 13 and 18 (*ibid.* p. iii) is the same as that of *Mashāriq al-Anwār* but Dānush Pizhuh has wrongly ascribed them to two different persons.

95. Bankipore, Vol. V, p. 94, 'Abd al-Hayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir wa Bahjat al-Nawāzīr* Hyderabad, India, Vol. I, 1962, p. 107.

96. *Nuzhat al-Khawātir* p. 107.

97. Ṣaghānī means pertaining to Ṣaghān yān, which is the Arabicized form of the work Chaghānīyān, a town in Transoxiana (Sam'ānī I, 352b), Ikram (*Āb-i Kawthar*, pp. 6, 81) and Dānush Pizhuh (*Sharḥ-i Fārsī Shihāb al-Akhbar* Preface, p. iii) both have failed to take cognizance of this fact and have read this word as San'ānī and Ṣafā'ī respectively, which are incorrect.

age he was taken to Ghazna where he studied under his father and several other teachers, and soon established himself as a distinguished scholar of *Hadīth* and philology. Sultan Qutb al-Dīn Ayybak (602-607/1206-10) heard of his sanctity and offered him the judgeship of Lahore, which he declined.⁹⁸ After performing pilgrimage and spending much time in the company of various scholars in Makkah and 'Irāq, including Nizām al-Maghīnānī,⁹⁹ he went to Baghdad and before long got himself established among court circles. Caliph Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225) bestowed honours on him and in 617/1220-21, commissioned him as his personal emissary to the court of Sultān Shams al-Dīn Ilutmish (607-35/1211-36) in India, where he stayed a little less than two decades. Departing from India in 634/1236-37, he performed a second pilgrimage at Makkah, and returned to Baghdad via Yemen. By this time the caliphate had passed into the hands of Mustansir Bi'llāh (625-40/1226-42), who received him with respect, and despatched him back to India on a second mission. Saghānī returned to Baghdad in 637/1239-40 and stayed there until his death in 650/1252.¹⁰⁰ His mortal remains were taken to Makkah and buried there.¹⁰¹ He was a prolific writer and a diligent teacher at the same time. Besides a lot of books,¹⁰² he was survived by a great many students including Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Abī al-Khayr Aṣ'ad al-Balkhī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṣī, Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Umar al-Harawī, Maḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā' Ṣalīḥ bin 'Abd Alah ibn Ja'far bin 'Alī bin Ṣalḥ al-Asadī Al-Kuṣfī, commonly known as Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh.¹⁰³

- Page 24, l. 1 F.F., p. 251, S.A., pp. 523-24.
- Page 24, l. 5 S.A., pp. 523-24.
- Page 24, l. 15 For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 110, No. 183.
- Page 24, l. 24 For a description of Turk Bīyābānī's grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. I, p. 56, No. 102.
- Page 25, l. 10 For his tomb see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. IV, p. 57, No. 106.
- Page 25, l. 13 G.A., f. 38b. His correct *Laqab* is *Sadīd al-Dīn*. See Muḥammad Nizām'ud-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawā'it'u'l-Riwayāt* (London 1929), pp. 3-4.

98. 'Abd al-Hayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, Vol. I, p. 105.

99. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahman Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'at fi Tabaqat Lughawīyyin wa al-Nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Fadl Ibrāhīm Cairo, (?) 1964 Pt. I, pp. 519-20.

100. *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, p. 105.

101. Khwānd Mīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 79.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8. *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, p. 520.

103. *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, p. 106. Also see *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, pp. 520-21.

- *Page 25, l 16* The correct name of the book is *Jawānir al-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi' al-Riwayāt*. See *ibid*
- *Page 26, l 4* A famous commentary on the *Qudūrī* of Imam Abū Al Husayn Ahmad bin Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d. 428/1037), by 'Alī bin Abī Bakr bin 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197). The work deals with Hanafī jurisprudence and was published from Calcutta in 1234. Also see its translation (from a Persian version) by C. Hamilton, London, 1791, 2nd edn. by C. Grady, London, 1870.¹⁰⁴
- *Page 26, l 8* *Kanz al-Daqa'iq* commonly called *Kanz*, by Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd Allāh bin Ahmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) is a well known compendious compilation of discussions upon points of Hanafī *Furū'*. The work has been published several times from Cairo, 309 Delhi 1870, Lucknow 1874, and Bombay 1877.¹⁰⁵
- *Page 26, l 8* Celebrated work on syntax, by Imām Abū al-Faḥ Nāsir al-Dīn Muṭarriz Khwārazmī (d. 610/1213-14).¹⁰⁶
- *Page 26, l 8* *Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Madhḥab* commonly known as *Husām*, by Husām al-Dīn Hanafī Akhsakātī (d. 644/1246-47). A concise treatise on the principles of Hanafī jurisprudence.¹⁰⁷
- *Page 26, l 13* Qādī 'Adud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Īgā (d. 756/1355) was a celebrated Iranian dialectician, logician and juriconsult. Besides a band of reputed students¹⁰⁸ that he produced, his writings also set in motion a long train of commentaries and glosses that were written on his works by his own students and subsequent generations of scholars. On hearing of his erudition and excellent academic achievements, Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who is said to have been interested in the dedication of the Qādī's book called the *Mawaqif al-Sulṭāntyya* to himself, invited him to India through his personal envoy, Maulānā Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Imrānī. When the ruler of Shiraz, Shāh Shaykh Abū Ishāq, came to know of this move, he called on the Qādī in person and to prevent him from going to India, as the story goes, besides other things, offered to step down from the throne in his favour. His sincerity so impressed the Qādī that he changed his mind and revoked the decision to go to India.¹⁰⁹ The high estimation in which

104. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 235.

105. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, MS. 254.

106. *Safa*, Vol. III, p. 290.

107. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. I, p. 73.

108. Like Maulānā Mu'īn al-Dīn Yazdī, Shams al-Dīn Kirmani, Sayf al-Dīn Abhari, Sa'd al-Dīn Taftazānī, Quth al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Shāh Nūr al-Dīn Wafī Mahanī and Shāh Shuja' bin Amir Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad. (See *Safa* Vol. III pp. 3, 27, 47, 96, 223, 229, 243-44, 246, 295-96, 1089, 1298.)

109. *A.A.*, p. 142. *U.A.* f. 39; *Ma'āthir al-Kurām*, pp. 167-68.

the Qāḍī was held in Shiraz is further testified by the great Persian poet, Hāfiẓ of Shiraz. In one of his odes, while reminiscing about the prosperity of Shiraz in the good old days of Shāh Abū Ishāq Īnjū (743-54/± 343-53), he calls the Qāḍī 'emperor of erudition' and refers to him as one of the five persons to whom the Shiraz of those days owed its glory.¹¹⁰ He says

بای کار مراغب بنام باد و غم خیمه در عهد که در نغمه

- Page 26, l. 15 A.A., p. 142, G.A., f. 39
- Page 26 l. 16 FF (p. 262), Jamālī (p. 15), A.A. (p. 49) mention his name as 'Khwāja Maḥmūd Muṭṭa-dūz'
- Page 26, l. 20 FF., p. 262, Jamālī, p. 15
- Page 27, l. 15 For his tomb, see LM & HM., Vol. IV, p. 57 No. 106.
- Page 27, l. 17 G.A., f. 23b.
- Page 27, l. 21 A.A., p. 49.
- Page 27, l. 22 The founder of the Suhrawardiyya order of mystics, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ Umar b. Muhammad a-Bakrī al-Suhrawardī was a descendant of Abū Bakr, and a nephew and disciple of Shaykh Abū al-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir Qiyā' al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 563, 1168).¹¹¹ According to Ibn Khallikān, who was his contemporary, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī was another of his masters.¹¹² The Shaykh was a great Ṣūfī, profound scholar, reputed Shāfi'ite jurisconsult, and a zealous preacher of Islam.¹¹³ He is reported to have had a great number of *Khalīfas* in India,¹¹⁴ including Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī,¹¹⁵ Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī,¹¹⁶ Shaykh Turk Biryābārī,¹¹⁷ Maulānā Majd al-Dīn Ḥājī Jārmī,¹¹⁸ and Shaykh Qiyā' al-Dīn Rūmī,¹¹⁹ but the main credit for the propagation and the consolidation of the Suhrawardiyya *Silsila* in India, goes to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' and his descendants and disciples.

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī died in Baghdad in 632, 1234.¹²⁰

109. A.A., p. 142, G.A., f. 39, *Ma'athir al-Kurām*, pp. 167.

110. *Dīwān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Hāfiẓ Shirāzī*, p. 363.

111. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, pp. 446, 205, Slane, Vol. II, pp. 382, 151.

112. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, p. 446 Slane, Vol. III p. 382. Also see A.A. p. 16.

113. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, pp. 446-47; Slane, Vol. III, pp. 382-83.

114. A.A., p. 36.

115. *Ibid.* p. 26.

116. *Ibid.* p. 36.

117. *Ibid.* p. 47.

118. *Ibid.* p. 49.

119. *Ibid.* p. 72.

120. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, p. 448, Slane Vol. II, p. 384, *Nafahāt* p. 473.

- * Page 35, l 8 *Nafahāt*, p. 504
- * Page 35, l 10 Qur'ān, 57: 11.
- * Page 35, l.15 *A.A.*, p. 59
- * Page 35, l.18 *S.A.*, p. 100. Also see *FF*, pp. 163-64
- * Page 35, l.21 See *supra* page 10, line 3
- * Page 36, l 5 See *F.F.*, p. 169.
- * Page 36, l.5 *FF.*, p. 178
- * Page 36, l.5 *Ibid.*(p. 87) reads. وَمِنْ
- * Page 36, l 6 'Awārif al-Ma'arif of Shuhāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) is an encyclopaedic work on Islamic mysticism and one of the main sources of Kāshānī's *Misbāḥ al-Hidāya*, which is an outstanding work on the subject in its own right. The book was published on the margin of Ghazālī's *Ihya'*, Cairo, 1289, 1358.¹²⁴
- * Page 36, l 6 *Al-Tamhīd fī Bayān al-Taḥdīd wa-Hidāyat li-Kull Mustashid wa-Rashid* generally referred to as *Tamhīd*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Sayyid bin Shu'ayb Hanafī Sālimī, is a work on Sunnī *Kalām* wherein polemical replies have been given to the opposing arguments of the philosophers, the Mu'tazilites, and others. According to internal evidence the author lived in the 5th/11th century. The work was published from Cairo in 1338, 1919-20.¹²⁵
- * Page 36, l 7 *F.F.*, p. 34, *S.A.*, p. 106
- * Page 36, l.12 *A.A.*, pp. 54-59
- * Page 36, l 15 *S.A.*, p. 492, *A.A.*, p. 58.
- * Page 36, l.22 *S.A.*, p. 324, *A.A.*, p. 58.
- * Page 36, l.25 *S.A.*, p. 362; *A.A.*, p. 59.
- * Page 37, l 3 *FF*, p. 216. *S.A.*, pp. 412-13, *A.A.*, p. 59.

124 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāshānī, *Misbāḥ al-Hidāya wa-Miftāḥ al-Kifāya*, ed. Jaḥalal-Dīn Humā'ī (Tehran, n.d.)

125 *A.M.I.O.* Vol. II, p. 339. S. Van Ronkel, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts reserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (The Hague 1913), pp. 118-19

- Page 28, 1.3 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 99, No. 157.
- Page 28, 1.12 *S.A.*, p. 164, *A.A.*, p. 50.
- Page 28, 1.24 *S.A.*, p. 62.
- Page 29, 1.1 *S.A.*, p. 505.
- Page 29, 1.7 *F.F.*, pp. 159-160, *S.A.*, p. 56.
- Page 29, 1.21 For his tomb and college, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 21, No. 10.
- Page 30, 1.2 *A.A.*, p. 50.
- Page 30, 1.15 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 80, No. 138.
- Page 31, 1.12 According to *G.A.* (f. 40b) he died in 780/1378-79.
- Page 31, 1.14 *G.A.*, ff. 43-b-44 b.
- Page 33, 1.23 For his grave see, *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 133, No. 133.
- Page 34, 1.2 *G.A.*, f. 65.
- Page 34, 1.5 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 84, No. 136.
- Page 34, 1.7 *G.A.*, f. 75.
- Page 34, 1.20 *S.A.*, pp. 94, 101.
- Page 35, 1.5 *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*¹²¹ by Abī Muhammad al-Qāsim bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122-23) is a befitting testimony to its author's ability and vast knowledge. It is a pioneer work and a perfect model of *Maqāma*¹²² writing in the Arabic language. An abundant amount of information regarding the Arabic language spoken by the Bedouins, its idioms, proverbs and other delicacies can be seen in it.¹²³

121. Printed in Cairo in 1326. A famous commentary on this work was also published from Cairo. See Abī al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qasīy al-Sharrīshūyy, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (Cairo, 1372/1952-53).

122. For the origin and evolution of this genre in Arabic *belles-lettres* and its influence on Persian literature see Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, *Sabk Shūnās* (Tehran, 1349 H.Sh.), Vol. II, pp. 324-56, and Fara Ibrahīmī Ḥarīrī, *Maqāma-Nawāis dar Adabīyyāt-i Fārsī* (Tehran, 1346 H.Sh.).

123. *Slane*, Vol. II, pp. 490-96. Also see Aḥmad bin Umar bin 'Alī Nizāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahar Maqala*. Muḥammad Mu'in (Tehran, 1333 H.Sh.), p. 22.

- * Page 37, 1.5 S.A., p. 243, A.A., p. 59
- * Page 37, 1.8 F.F., p. 131, S.A., p. 354, A.A., p. 59.
- * Page 37, 1.10 It should be: $\sim \rightarrow \sim$ See F.F., p. 131.
- * Page 37, 1.12 S.A., p. 321.
- * Page 37, 1.19 F.F., p. 204, S.A., p. 403.
- * Page 37, 1.22 S.A., p. 403.
- * Page 38, 1.1 F.F., pp. 41-42, S.A., p. 403.
- * Page 38, 1.6 F.F., p. 214, S.A., p. 403, *Najāt al-Rashīd*, p. 444.
- * Page 38, 1.6 Abu Sa'īd Faḍl Allāh bin Abī al Khayr Muhammad bin Ahmad Mihānī (b. 357/967, d. 440/1049) was one of the foremost Sūfīs and greatest theologians that Khurasan has ever produced. He had his first experience of mystical ecstasies in the audition gatherings which he attended as a child in the company of his father and received his first instructions in mystical devotions from Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim Bishr, Ḳāsimī (d. 380/990), who anticipated and prophesied the young lad's future grandeur and greatness in the realm of mysticism. Abu Sa'īd learnt the Qur'an from Bū Muhammad Anāzī and attained proficiency in the use of language under the care of Bū Sa'īd 'Anāzī, in Mūhana and then set out for Marv to study Shāfi'ite law under Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husri, which he did for five years until the Imām died. He continued his study of *Fiqh* for five more years under another equally renowned scholar, Shaykh Imām Abū Bakr Qaffal. Thereafter, he went to Sarakhs and started learning exegesis of the Qur'an, dogmatics and *Hadīth* from Abū 'Alī Zāhir bin Ahmad. It was during his sojourn in this town that he came across a crazy mystic, Luqmān-i Sarakhsī, who took him to his friend, Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl-i Ḥasan's convent and consigned him to the latter's care. This incident lent a new lease of spiritual dedication to Abū Sa'īd's life and gradually he started devoting more and more time to mystic austerities and became detached from exoteric sciences. Before he could prove himself worthy of a spiritual robe (*Khirqā*) he underwent a long period of arduous ascetic practices and self-mortification, both under the strict supervision of his director in Sarakhs, and back home in Mūhana. Every iota of his time, and every breath of his life was occupied with the Divine remembrance (*Dhikr*), solitary meditation and several other ascetic practices. For days he would disappear and spend his time in complete isolation and bewilderment in desolate places. When back home, he would slip away stealthily during the night-time, rush to a lonely building known as *Ribat-i Kūhan*, latch the door from inside and tie a rope around his feet with its other end fastened to a log of wood. Putting this wood across the mouth of a well in the building, he would

descend and suspend himself upside down and start chanting the Qur'ān which he would invariably finish before dawn. The recitation over, he would climb out of the well, restore everything to its proper place, renew ablutions, return home and retreat into bed and repose until his father would arouse him at daybreak for congregational morning prayers.

He obtained his spiritual robe from Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl-i Ḥasan, or according to some, upon his recommendation, from Abū al-Qāsim al-Naṣrābādī's celebrated disciple, Shaykh Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 412, 1021). Another robe was given to him, at a later stage, by Abū al-'Abbās al-Qaṣābī Āmulī. Similarly, during his travels he came across Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī and was endowed with beatitude by him also. Some miracles are attributed to every Muslim saint and mystic, yet none surpasses Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Abū al-Khayr in this respect. His biographies are replete with instances of his miracles. He was particularly adept in thought reading. This clairvoyance of his stood him in good stead in many an odd situation and turned several of his foes into devoted friends. His eloquence of speech, exuberance of expression and exquisite style of exposition would always attract large crowds to his spiritual assemblies. His charity was well known and extravagance proverbial. He would host big, pompous feasts and spend money lavishly on them, regardless of the anger they provoked and the envy they aroused in his contemporaries.¹²⁶

- * Page 38, 1.9 F.F., pp. 9-10; S.A., p. 325
- * Page 38, 1.9 See *supra* Page 15, l. 5
- * Page 38, 1.16 S.A., p. 327
- * Page 38, 1.18 S.A., p. 328.
- * Page 38, 1.20 S.A., p. 329
- * Page 39, 1.3 S.A., p. 366.
- * Page 39, 1.5 S.A., p. 368.
- * Page 39, 1.8 F.F., p. 222, S.A., p. 400.
- * Page 39, 1.9 'Ayn al-Qudāt-i Ḥamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, p. 19, quoted in

126. For further details, see Muḥammad bin Muṣawwar bin Abū Sa'īd bin Abī Tahr bin Abī Sa'īd Mīḥanī, *Azhar al-Tauḥīd fī Maqāmāt-i Abī Sa'īd*, ed. Dhābiḥ Allāh Ṣafā (Tehran 1348), Sam'ānī, I 550; 'Attār, pp. 800-815, *Nafahat*, pp. 300-307, Luṭf 'Alī Bēg Ādhar, *Ālshkade-i Ādhar* ed. Ḥasan-i Sadat Naṣrī (Tehran 1336-40 H Sh.), Vol. II, pp. 663-67 with bibliography, R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge 1967 repr.), pp. 1-76, E.I., s.v. 'Abū Sa'īd Faḍl Awāb bin Abī al-Khayr'

Rahīm Farmanish, *Anwāl-o Athār-i 'Ayn al-Qudāt-i Hamadānī* (Tehran 1338 H. Sh.), p. 369.

- * Page 39, 1.11 S.A., p. 400.
- * Page 39, 1.13 F.F., p. 87; S.A., p. 400.
- * Page 39, 1.13 *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*¹²⁷ of Imām Abī Hāmid Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (450/1058–505/1111) is a compendium of *Ṣūfism* and asceticism, as well as Islamic doctrine in general. It is so comprehensive and exhaustive, both in size and content, that according to some eminent doctors of Islam, if all other works were to perish, the whole body of Islamic doctrine and mystical teaching could be restored from the present work alone.¹²⁸
- * Page 39, 1.14 *Ihyā'*, Vol. I p. 231, *Awārif*, Vol. III, p. 247, *Misbāḥ al-Hidāya*, p. 334.
- * Page 39, 1.17 S.A., p. 408.
- * Page 39, 1.22 S.A., p. 411.
- * Page 40, 1.4 S.A., p. 410.
- * Page 40, 1.6 S.A., p. 411.
- * Page 40, 1.6 See *supra* page-38, line 6.
- * Page 40, 1.9 F.F., p. 82 S.A., p. 436.
- * Page 40, 1.13 S.A., p. 437.
- * Page 40, 1.17 S.A., p. 443.
- * Page 40, 1.20 S.A., p. 455.
- * Page 40, 1.22 S.A., p. 464.
- * Page 41, 1.15 F.F., p. 264, S.A., p. 503.
- * Page 41, 1.16 Ḥakīm Majd al-Dīn Majdūd bin Ādam al-Sanā'ī al-Ghaznawī (d. 545/1150-51) is the precursor of 'Attār (d. 627/1229-30) and Rūmī.

127. Bulaq 1289; Cairo, 1289-1358. Lithographed in Lucknow A.D. 1864.

128. Bankipore, Vol. XIII, p. 18. Also see Isā al-Dīn Hamā'ī, *Ghazālī-nāma*, second rev. edn (Tehran 1342 H. Sh.) pp. 243-47.

(d. 672, 1273) in the writing of long mystical *mathnawīs* and, with them both, he constitutes the trio of arch-mystagogues in the realm of Persian poetry. In his works, besides expounding mystical and moral points, he deplores the moral depravity and social degradation that were rampant in his days and censures those responsible in the strongest terms. Very few Persian poets match him in the abiding influence he has been exercising over the centuries on the succeeding generations.¹²⁹ All of his works have been published.¹³⁰

- Page 42, 1.4 *F.F.*, p. 17.
- Page 42, 1.10 *Ibid*
- Page 42, 1.11 *F.F.*, p. 21, *K.M.*, p. 84
- Page 42, 1.11 See *supra* p. 38, 1.6.
- Page 42, 1.23 *Nafahāt*, p. 505.
- Page 43, 1.7 *S.A.*, p. 142
- Page 43, 1.12 *S.A.*, pp. 142-43
- Page 43, 1.12 He was a grandson of Qādī Quṭb al-Dīn Kashanī, and his name was a byword for erudition, tolerance, piety and fear of God. Whenever he would call on Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, the Shaykh would stand erect to receive him, a privilege which hardly any other of his followers could think of. Rather, some of his disciples who ordinarily would never dare sit in his presence, were always looking forward to the arrival of the Qādī when discussions on different topics were held and everybody could sit and relish the audience of the great Shaykh. The Qādī passed away during the lifetime of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn.¹³¹

Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Mahmūd was one of the old students of the Qādī and had studied Bazdawī under him.¹³²

- Page 43, 1.16 *S.A.*, p. 143.
- Page 43, 1.22 *A.A.*, pp. 56-57, *S.A.*, p. 134.

129. M.S. Akhtar, *Tahqiq dar Mathnawīhā-yi Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, unpublished thesis for the Degree of D. Litt. submitted at the University of Tehran, 1974, pp. 25-31, 156-61.

130. *Dīwān-i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. Mudarrīs-i Radawī (Tehran, n.d.), *Dīwān-i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. Muṣṭafī-i Musaffā (Tehran, 1336 H Sh.), *Hudūq al-Haqīqa wa Sharī'at al-Tarīqa*, ed. Mudarrīs-i Radawī (Tehran, 1329 H Sh.), *Mathnawīhā-yi Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Mudarrīs-i Radawī (Tehran 1348 H Sh.), *Makātib-i Sanā'ī* ed. Nazīr Aḥmad (Aligarh, 1962).

131. *S.A.* pp. 294-96. Also see *A.A.*, pp. 96-97

132. *K.M.* pp. 150-51.

- * Page 44, 1.14 S.A., p. 124.
- * Page 44, 1.24 A.A., pp. 55, 58.
- * Page 44, 1.16 S.A., p. 128.
- * Page 44, 1.24 S.A., p. 153
- * Page 45, 1.9 For a description of his tomb and *Jamū'at Khāna*, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 146, No. 197, p. 151, No. 200.
- * Page 45, 1.10 S.A., pp. 167-69.
- * Page 45, 1.17 F.F., pp. 16-17
- * Page 45, 1.20 S.A., p. 167.
- * Page 46, 1.4 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 196, No. 341
- * Page 46, 1.7 F.F., p. 184
- * Page 46, 1.10 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 196, No. 341
- * Page 47, 1.4 F.F., p. 132; S.A., p. 168.
- * Page 47, 1.10 S.A., pp. 167-68.
- * Page 48, 1.2 A.A., p. 66.
- * Page 48, 1.7 *Rashahāt*, p. 24.
- * Page 48, 1.9 Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband was one of the leading lights of the *Silsila-i Khwājagān*, which subsequently under the influence of his personality came to be known as *Silsila-i Naqshbandiyya*. He traversed the early stages of the mystic path under the guidance of Sayyid Amīr Kalāl,¹³³ but claimed to have obtained actual enlightenment from the spirit of Khwāja 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghajduwānī¹³⁴ He was born in Muharram 718/February-March 1319 in the outskirts of Bukhara and died in the same place on 3 Rabi'ī, 791/2 March 1389¹³⁵ Besides a large number of disciples that survived him, he left behind two distinguished *Khālifas* also, Khwāja 'Alī al-Dīn 'Attār and Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā¹³⁶.

133. For his life, see *Nafahat* p. 382; *Rashahāt*, pp. 42-43

134. For his life, see *Nafahāt*, pp. 377-80; *Rashahāt* pp. 18-27

135. *Rashahāt*, p. 57 For his life, see *Nafahāt* pp. 384-89; *Rashahāt*, pp. 53-57

136. *Rashahāt*, p. 57

During his lifetime also Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn used to refer his disciples to the care of Khwāja 'Alī' al-Dīn 'Attār but after Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn's death all of them including Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 24 Jumādī II, 822/20 June 1418)¹³⁷ voluntarily came under the shelter of Khwāja 'Attār's beatitude.¹³⁸ The celebrated scholar Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī had also immensely profited from his spiritual beneficence and always used to say that he owed his knowledge of God to Khwāja 'Attār.¹³⁹ The Khwāja died on 20 Rajab 820/14 September 1416, and was buried in Ṣaghāniyān.¹⁴⁰ Among his disciples, Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn Khāmūsh was the most outstanding, who even before joining his company was possessed of certain miraculous powers and had also seen Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband during his student days.¹⁴¹ Maulānā Khāmūsh died in 860/1455-56,¹⁴² and was succeeded by two extremely brilliant personalities, Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn Kāshgharī¹⁴³ and Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh,¹⁴⁴ also known as Khwāja I Aḥrār. For the further augmentation of his spiritual perception and mystical insight, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh also remained in association with two other luminaries of his time: Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn 'Umar Khurāsānī¹⁴⁵ and Maulānā Ya'qub Charkhī¹⁴⁶ and obtained blessings from them. In later years, his active role in the political events of the day and close relations with the contemporary social and political circles gave a new momentum to the Naqshbandiyya order and the masses who generally followed the elite were naturally influenced by Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn. The Khwāja died in 895/1491.

* Page 48, l. 19 See *supra* p. 10, l. 7.

* Page 48, l. 20 See *supra* p. 27, l. 22.

* Page 49, l. 13 Born in Nard, the old part of the city of Kazvin, lying fifty-five miles (20 *farsakhs*) west of Shiraz, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Shahryār Kāzarūnī travelled to Shiraz, Basra, Makkah and Madīnah and benefited from the company of several scholars in those cities. In Makkah he met Shaykh Abū al-Hasan 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh bin Jahdam Hamadānī and later on transmitted the *Aḥādīth* learnt from him.¹⁴⁷ In the domain of mysticism, initially he was a devotee of

137. *Ibid.* pp. 62-63. For his life, see *Nafahāt* pp. 392-96, *Rashahāt* pp. 57-63.

138. *Nafahāt* pp. 389; *Rashahāt*, p. 80. For details of his life, see *Nafahāt* pp. 389-92, *Rashahāt* pp. 79-90.

139. *Nafahāt* p. 389; *Rashahāt* p. 106. For his life see *Rashahāt* pp. 106-108.

140. *Rashahāt* p. 89.

141. *Nafahāt* p. 400; *Rashahāt*, p. 108. For his life, see *Nafahāt*, pp. 400-402; *Rashahāt*, pp. 108-17; *Tarā'iq al-Haqā'iq*, Vol. III, p. 62.

142. *Tarā'iq al-Haqā'iq*, p. 60.

143. For his life, see *Nafahāt* pp. 403-405; *Rashahāt*, pp. 117-33.

144. For his life, see *Nafahāt* pp. 406-13; *Rashahāt*, pp. 207-32.

145. *Rashahāt*, pp. 239-41. For his life, see *Tarā'iq al-Haqā'iq*, pp. 65-66.

146. *Rashahāt*, pp. 241-42. For his life, see *Tarā'iq al-Haqā'iq*, pp. 65-68.

147. *Nafahāt*, p. 254.

Shaykh Abū 'Alī Husayn bin Muhammad al-Firūzābadī al-Akkār but finally became a disciple of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad bin Khafī (d. 371/982).¹⁴⁸ During those days the city of Kāzīrūn had a *gubere* governor and was overwhelmingly populated by Jews and Zoroastrians. Through his didactic logic and spiritual influence the Shaykh is said to have proselytized a great many of them to Islam. He was quite celebrated for his miracles and clairvoyance, and this fame of his persisted even after his death, so much so that his tomb was also reverently referred to as *Tibyāk-i Akbar* ('Great Antidote'). The Shaykh died in 426/1034, at the age of 72, or according to some, 73.¹⁴⁹ The first of his followers who is reported to have arrived and settled in India, on the Shaykh's instance was his sister's son, and *Khalifa*, Sayyid Saḥī al-Dīn al-Kāzīrūnī, the founder of the township of Uch, near Multan. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir *Thānī* bin Makhdūm Shaykh Muhammad a. Husayn al-Jīlānī, one of the pioneer saints of the Qādirīyya order in India, traced his lineage on the maternal side from the same Saḥī al-Dīn al-Kāzīrūnī.¹⁵⁰

The mystique of mysterious deeds and miraculous powers of Shaykh Ishaq gradually so enshrouded his memory that around his tomb arose a convent which by the close of the 7th, 13th century, thanks to the abiding interest and enormous influence of Shaykh 'Umar bin Abī al-Faraj al-Kāzīrūnī (d. 703-704/1304), became the axis and pivot of a distinct mystical order known as Kāzīrūnīyya or Ishaqīyya, whose sphere of influence and credulity extended as far as India and China.¹⁵¹ Referring to the high esteem wherein the Shaykh was held in those countries the Moorish traveller Ibn Battuta writes

Travellers on the Sea of China make a practice when the wind turns against them and they fear pirates, of making vows to Abu Ishaq and each one of them sets down in writing the obligation he has undertaken in his vow. Then, when they come safely to land, the servant of the hospice goes on board the ship, takes the inventory, and exact [the amount of] his vow from each person who has pledged himself. There is not a ship that comes from China or from India but has thousands of dinars in it [vowed to the saint] and the agents on behalf of the attendant of the hospice come to take delivery of that sum. There are some poor brethren who come to beg sums of the shaykh, each of these receives a written order for some amount, sealed with the shaykh's device (this is engraved on a silver die, and they put the die into red wax and apply it to the order so that the mark of the stamp remains upon it), to this effect: 'Whoso has in his possession [money dedicated under] a vow to the Shaykh Abu Ishaq, let him give thereof to so-and-so so much: the order being for a thousand or a hundred [dinars] or some intermediate or smaller sum, according to the standing of the poor brother concerned. Then when the mendicant finds someone, who has in his possession anything under vow, he takes from him and writes for him a receipt for the amount on the back of the order. The king of India once vowed ten thousand dinars to the Shaykh Abu Ishaq, and when the news of this reached the poor brethren of the hospice, one of them came to India, took delivery of the

148. For his life, see *Aṭṭar*, pp. 571-78.

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 763-76.

150. *A.A.*, p. 199.

151. J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford 1971), pp. 34, 172, 236.

money, and went back with it to the hospice.¹⁵²

- * Page 49, I.12 G.A., f. 45b.
- * Page 49, I.23 A.A., p. 71.
- * Page 50, I.1 S.A., p. 144.
- * Page 50, I.20 For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 94, No. 147.
- * Page 50, I.24 S.A., p. 500, A.A., p. 72.
- * Page 51, I.7 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 159, No. 276.
- * Page 51, I.20 S.A., p. 151. Also see *ibid.*, p. 156.
- * Page 54, I.8 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 109, No. 138.
- * Page 54, I.9 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 108, No. 137.
- * Page 53, I.16 Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī was a favourite *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and it was partly out of love for him that Shaykh Farīd lived in Hansi for twelve years. He was an eloquent preacher and exquisite poet, his composition being full of divine love. For every *Khalīfa* who got his *Khilāfat-nāma* from Shaykh Farīd, it was a prerequisite to get it endorsed by Shaykh Jamāl before it could become a valid document. If he refused approval to somebody's investiture even the Shaykh would not intervene and accepted his decision willingly. When Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' received his *Khilāfat-nāma*, though himself a cherished disciple, he was also directed to get it endorsed by Shaykh Jamāl Hānsawī.

Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī died during the lifetime of his preceptor. On his death Shaykh Farīd elevated his son, Burhān al-Dīn Šūfī, to the *Khilāfat* and, since he was still a child, directed him to spend some time under the supervision of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, which he did quite conscientiously. Burhān al-Dīn Šūfī's son, Qutb al-Dīn Munawwar, was a prominent *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn.

- * Page 53, I.19 S.A., p. 178.

152. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge 1971), Vol. II, pp. 320-21. For a detailed account of the Shaykh's life, see Mahmūd bin 'Uthmān, *Firdaus al-Murshidiyya fi Asrar al-Samadiyya*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran 1333 H.Sh.) and F. Meier, *Firdaus al-Murshidiyya: Die vita des Scheichs Abu Isḥaq al-Kazeruni* (Leipzig 1948). (Bibliotheca Islamica).

153. S.A., pp. 178-84.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 247; A.A., p. 87.

- * Page 53, l.22 S.A., p. 181.
- * Page 54, l.12 A.A., pp. 73-74, G.A., f. 36b.
- * Page 54, l.12 Sultān al-Tārikīn Shaykh Hamūd al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī al-Nāgaurī was born in Delhi c. 590/1193. After the acquisition of a traditional education under Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Halwā'ī and Shaykh Hamūd al-Dīn Muḥammad Juwaynī, he went to Ajmer and became a disciple of Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn and ultimately emerged as one of his main *Khalīfas*.¹⁵⁵ His life was characterized by supreme abstinence, total renunciation of the world and complete resignation to the will of God. He was strictly vegetarian and forbade his descendants from using any sort of flesh in the victuals to be distributed during his obsequies or subsequent death anniversaries.¹⁵⁶ He died in Nagaur on 29 Jumādī II 673/30 December 1274,¹⁵⁷ and was succeeded by his grandson Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Sūfī Nāgaurī

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn's father 'Azīz al-Dīn Sa'īd, had already passed away sometime between 22 Rajab 666/7 April 1268 and 22 Rajab 672/1 February 1272, under the spell of an ecstasy which overpowered him in an audition gathering wherein an ode of his father was being chanted. He was survived by three sons: Shaykh Wahīd al-Dīn Aḥmad, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Shaykh Naḡīb al-Dīn.¹⁵⁸ Shaykh Wahīd al-Dīn took the place of his father, after his death.

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Sūfī completed his entire education under the constant vigil of his grandfather who was grooming him to become his successor. True to his grandfather's expectations, he became a prodigious scholar and an accomplished Sūfī master. According to his own statement, made in Ṣafar 729/December 1328, he ascended the pulpit for the first time at the age of seven, and continued to do so for the next seventy years.¹⁵⁹ Besides, he wrote glosses on a great many scholarly works,¹⁶⁰ which covered the whole spectrum of Islamic learning, ranging from theology, jurisprudence, exegesis, *Hadīth*, and mysticism. His company was equally treasured by saints and Sultāns. During one of his short visits to Deḡu, Shaykh Nuzām al-Dīn, for whom he had great regard, pleaded with him to stay in his own convent and would take him with himself wherever he was invited.¹⁶¹ Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq bestowed on him a village in Nagaur¹⁶² and besought him to accept the hand of his daughter for his grandson, which was ultimately accepted and she was married to Shaykh

155. *Ṣurūr al-Sūdūr*, Introduction, p. 11.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 301 also see Introduction, pp. 14-15.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 270 also see Introduction, p. 16.

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141, 143, 146, 149, 150, 159.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 129 also see Introduction, pp. 22-23.

Fath al-Dīn bin Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dīn¹⁶³ The Shaykh died in Rabī' I 734/ October-November 1333 and was buried in Delhi. Although the word *son* is used very indiscriminately in his correspondence, the following six are, beyond doubt, his sons: Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dīn, Shaykh Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad, Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn and Shaykh 'Azīz al-Dīn Yahyā.¹⁶⁴

- Page 54, l.18 See *supra* Page 54, l.12.
- Page 55, l.17 A.A., pp. 80-86. Also see S.A., p. 237.
- Page 55, l.23 S.A., pp. 238-41
- Page 57, l.8 G.A., f. 68b
- Page 57, l.17 A.A., p. 82
- Page 58, l.2 For his tomb, see L.M. & H.M., Vol. III, p. 131, No. 221.
- Page 58, l.24 For his tomb and *Madrasa*, see L.M. & H.M., Vol. III pp. 178-79. Nos. 308-09
- Page 59, l.20 K.M., pp. 57-58; A.A., p. 82.
- Page 60, l.1 A.M., p. 60; A.A., p. 84
- Page 60, l.3 K.M., pp. 65-66; A.A., p. 84.
- Page 60, l.12 A.A., p. 84.
- Page 60, l.17 K.M., p. 195; A.A., p. 85.
- Page 60, l.18 *Kanz*, Vol. I, p. 203.
- Page 60, l.22 K.M., p. 59
- Page 61, l.2 A.A., p. 82.
- Page 61, l.19 A.A., p. 81
- Page 62, l.10 F.A., f. 38b

163. *Ibid.* pp. 127, 172.

164. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 28-29.

- * Page 62, 1.11 Shaykh Nūr Turk who is said to have been a disciple of Khwājā 'Uthmān Harunī or according to some that of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Ajmērī, was originally a native of Turkistan, whence he wended his way to India and settled in the township of Narnaul. His life was characterized by abstinence, celibacy and resignation to the will of God. He took little interest in the enrolment of disciples. During his days Narnaul was overwhelmingly populated by Hindus. Once while the Muslims were preparing for 'Id prayer in a local mosque, a violent mob of Hindus broke into it and killed many of them. The Shaykh laid down his life in that tragic incident. His body was interred in the thatched hut where he used to live during his lifetime.¹⁶⁵
- * Page 62, 1.20 S.A., p. 298.
- * Page 63, 1.2 S.A., pp. 298-99
- * Page 63, 1.8 A.A., p. 92.
- * Page 63, 1.15 K.M., p. 88.
- * Page 63, 1.15 S.A., p. 299.
- * Page 64, 1.2 S.A., pp. 545-55; A.A., pp. 92-93.
- * Page 64, 1.12 For his tomb, see L.M. & H.M., Vol. IV, p. 2, No. 2
- * Page 64, 1.15 S.A., p. 275 Maulāna 'Alā' al-Dīn Nūrī was such an excellent orator that even the most distinguished of scholars could not resist the temptation of listening to his speech. He and Maulāna Shams al-Dīn Yahyā would go together to the seminary of Maulāna Farīd al-Dīn Shāfi'ī, the *Shaykh al-Isām* of Awadh, where Maulāna 'Alā' al-Dīn would read the *Kashshāf*¹⁶⁶ in a loud voice and other scholars including Maulāna Shams al-Dīn Yahyā would listen to him. He was considered to be an authority on *Kashshāf* and *Miftāh*, and whenever the senior disciples of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliyyā' were confronted with some problem pertaining to theology or mysticism, they would discuss it in the presence of Maulāna Nūrī and seek his advice. His devotion to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn was so overwhelming that all his other qualities were overshadowed by it.¹⁶⁷
- * Page 64, 1.20 A.A., p. 93. Also see S.A., p. 276.

165 A.A., pp. 46-47, G.A., t. 39, *Ma'arif al-Wilāyat* ff. 66b-67, *Mira at al-Awār*, ff. 254b-255.

166 Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī was not favourably inclined towards this book. See F.F., pp. 122-23

167 S.A., pp. 275-78.

- * Page 65, I.16 S.A., p. 278.
- Page 65, I.19 FF, pp. 101-102, S.A., p. 204, A.A., p. 96, G.A., f. 65
- * Page 66, I.2 S.A., p. 204
- * Page 66, I.8 S.A., p. 204.
- Page 66, I.12 Elder brother of Khwāja Taqī al-Dīn Nūh, Raṣīd al-Dīn Ḥārūn was the son of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn's real nephew (*ṭisār-i khwāhār-zāda-i haqīqī*) but the Shaykh would always treat him like his own son. He remembered the Qur'ān by heart. At mealtime, if incidentally he were absent, even with the presence of his senior disciples, the Shaykh would wait for him before partaking of any victuals, and even in the distribution of gifts preference was given to him. Travelling, archery and wrestling were his ruling passions and the Shaykh would not only evince deep interest in these of his activities but also, sometimes, give him the benefit of his advice¹⁶⁸
- * Page 66, I.12 S.A., p. 203.
- * Page 66, I.19 S.A., pp. 208-10.
- Page 67, I.5 S.A., p. 209
- Page 67, I.14 S.A., p. 209.
- Page 67, I.25 S.A., p. 200
- * Page 68, I.3 S.A., pp. 294-96
- Page 68, I.21 Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh bin Sayyid Muḥammad was one of the uncles of Amīr Khurīd who extols his scholarly disposition and generosity in the way of God, in very glorious terms. According to him, he was a favourite disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, and the latter used to teach him the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, in private. He had studied the *Majma' al-Bahrayn* and the *Hidāya* under Qādī Muḥyī al-Dīn Kāshānī. The visitors who used to come to see Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn from the city, or Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Maulana 'Alā' al-Dīn Nūrī, who would call on him from Awadh, would stay overnight at Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh's house, who entertained them heartily and took every care to make them feel at home. He employed an army of musicians who were always ready to serve his distinguished guests. The circle of his acquaintance was very wide and his house was always thronged with people from all walks of life. Besides the members of his own family, his near relatives and

dear friends, two hundred dervishes would every day partake of their meals at his place. He died in Deogr in 732, 1331-32 and was buried there under the *Maqam-i Khwāja Khidr*, where people visited his tomb, at least up till the time of the compilation of the *Sayr al-Auliya'*, for the fulfilment of their desires.¹⁷⁰

- * Page 68, 1.24 S.A., pp. 219-20; G.A., f 66b.
- * Page 69, 1.7 Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Amīr Ahmad bin Sayyid Muhammad Kirmānī was one of the uncles of Amīr Khurd, the author of the *Sayr al-Auliya'*, whose statement about him tends to suggest that he was a grandee of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq's court and held a high position in his army. Nevertheless, he had a strong inclination towards mysticism and would not hesitate in pronouncing the truth even in the most difficult of circumstances. During his tenure as a khān in the army deployed in Taang (Telengana), as a result of some intrigues of his rivals, he was jailed in Bakri, near Deogr. While in imprisonment, he wrought some miracles which not only brought about his release but also restored his estimation in the eyes of the Sultān. At this time he used to braid his hair in one plait and wear a gown. But on receipt of the imperial summons, he braided his hair in two plaits and dressed himself in a *Sufi* robe, implying thereby that he had renounced the world and had taken to a spiritual life. The Sultān did not accept this excuse of his, and offered him an advisory position at court where he continued to wear his *Sufi* dress. It was during his posting in Lahore with the imperial armies that he fell ill and died in Jumada II 728/ April-May 1328. His body was carried to Deogr and buried there in the vicinity of his father's grave. He was survived by two sons: 'Imād al-Dīn Amīr Salih and Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn.¹⁷¹
- * Page 69, 1.10 S.A., pp. 214-15
- * Page 69, 1.16 S.A., p. 199
- * Page 70, 1.2 S.A., p. 90.
- * Page 70, 1.12 G.A., f 28
- * Page 70, 1.14 S.A., pp. 190-91
- * Page 70, 1.14 Khwāja Ya'qūb was the youngest son of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, and a bosom friend of Sayyid Muhammad Kirmānī's son, Sayyid Mubārak. Both of them learnt the Qur'ān from Maulānā Badr al-Dīn Ishāq¹⁷² and spent most of their time in each other's company. Thus they were together at the time

169. Like Qāḍī Muhyī al-Dīn Kāshānī, Maulāna Hujat al-Dīn Multānī, Maulāna Badr al-Dīn Yār, Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn Yār, Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yahyā, and Maulānā Husām al-Dīn.

170. S.A., pp. 219-20.

171. S.A., pp. 214-16.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 169

of the occurrence of the incidents mentioned in the text.¹⁷³ Since Maulānā Badr al-Dīn Ishāq started teaching the Qur'ān at the Jum'a mosque at Ajodhan¹⁷⁴ sometime after the death of his spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Farīd, in Maharram 664/October-November 1265, it is fair to conclude that the abduction of Khwāja Ya'qūb must have taken place after that date.

- Page 71, l.2 S.A., (p. 197) Azīz al-Dīn
- Page 71, l.3 Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn took a deep interest in the upbringing and education of both these brothers. Consequently, Khwāja Muhammad became his permanent *Imām* and was generally referred to as Khwāja Muhammad Imām. In spiritual gatherings it was his privilege to sit nearest to the Shaykh. Similarly, during audition if the Shaykh ever felt the impulse to dance, it was he who would keep him company. Amīr Khurd, who happened to see him several times, found his eyes always filled with tears. In his absence, the congregational prayer was led by his brother Khwāja Mūsā who would chant the Qur'ān in a very sweet, melodious and heart stirring voice. He had studied the Bazdawī under Maulānā Wajih al-Dīn Pānīpī, and was well versed in different sciences including the science of medicine. He composed verses both in Arabic and Persian and, like his brother, was a perfect connoisseur of music.¹⁷⁵
- Page 71, l.4 G.A., l. 28, S.A., pp. 172-73, 192, 193
- Page 71, l.5 See *supra* page 17, l. 15
- Page 71, l.10 A.A., p. 95
- Page 71, l.13 S.A., p. 201.
- Page 71, l.16 S.A., (p. 201), A.A., (p. 95) Nizām al-Dīn Pānīpatī.
- Page 71, l.22 Once, while the victuals were being served in the hospice of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, Maulānā Wajih al-Dīn, a senior disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, came in and inadvertently seated himself on the upper hand of Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn. Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, who was watching the whole incident, sounded a note of warning and said 'Maulānā' No doubt, I do not warrant sitting of any *Mujaddid* on the upper hand of a *Muta'ammam* but this also I cannot approve of that some *Muta'ammam* should sit on the upper hand of the descendants of my master' Maulānā Wajih al-Dīn, who was misled by the curled hair

173. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91

174. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

175. S.A., pp. 200-202.

of Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn and had failed to recognize that he was a grandson of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, immediately got up, repented his inadvertence and apologized to the Shaykh.¹⁷⁶

Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn's younger brother, Khwāja Kabīr al-Dīn was also a devout follower of Shaykh Nuzām al-Dīn and spent his entire life, right from his childhood to the time of his death, at the feet of the great saint. He also died in Delhi and was buried in the Chabūṭara-i Yārīn graveyard.¹⁷⁷

• Page 71, l 23 S.A., p. 202, A.A., p. 85

• Page 72, l 1 According to the *Sayr al-Auliya*, this book was a collection of the utterances of Shaykh Nuzām al-Dīn and a considerable portion of it had been browsed by the Shaykh also.¹⁷⁸ Stray references to this work are seen here and there but the book itself has vanished.

Page 72, l 2 S.A., p. 449

Page 72, l 7 G.A., f. 28b.

Page 72, l.7 Mīr Khurd who was his contemporary, admires him for his abstinence, piety, fear of God, modesty and munificence, and extols his efforts to relieve the people of their worries and assuage their hearts by guiding them on the divine path.¹⁷⁹

• Page 72, l.11 G.A., f. 49

• Page 72, l 18 G.A., f. 50

• Page 72, l 23 His father Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn was a minister to a ruler of Khurasan but, as a result of some mishap, he had had to migrate to India, where he was entrusted with the administration of the area extending from Hansi to Multan, including Dipalpur and Ajodhan. Alive as he was, Khwāja Kamāl joined the band of Shaykh Farīd's disciples. Later on, considering that Khwāja Karīm al-Dīn Samarqandī was his own disciple and his father Khwāja Kamāl had been a disciple of the great Shaykh, Shaykh Nuzām al-Dīn arranged the marriage of Khwāja Karīm with one of the granddaughters of Shaykh Farīd.

Khwāja Karīm was known for his mystical leanings but besides that, he was also possessed of all the virtues a scion of his lineage could be expected to have

176. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

177. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

179. S.A., p. 203

had. He led a very honourable life in Ghuyaspur surrounded by a galaxy of top-most poets and scholars, including Khusrāu, Hasan and Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī. After Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn died, Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq bestowed on Khwāja Karīm the titles of the *Shaykh al-Islām* and the *Anwar-Rā'e-i Mulk-i Sātgāon*, which he accepted and shifted to Satgaon. He died in Satgaon and was buried there. According to Mīr Khurd his tomb was an object of veneration for the townsfolk.¹⁸⁰

- Page 72, l.24 G.A., f. 50; S.A., pp. 306-08

- Page 73, l.9 He was one of the seniormost disciples of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn. In *Fiqh* he had been a student of Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Qūshcheh and in view of his erudition and learning his name was quite familiar in academic circles. To eke out his livelihood, he taught the children of a courier of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban. But ultimately he severed all links with mundane objects and came into the fold of Nizām al-Dīn's disciples. His inquisitiveness, however, did not depart from him and he was always in the forefront to put questions to the Shaykh concerning different theological and mystical points. He passed away during the lifetime of his preceptor who, prior to his death, granted him permission to accept disciples in his own right.¹⁸¹

- Page 73, l.10 G.A., f. 51; S.A., pp. 399-301.

- Page 73, l.10 See *supra* Page 26, l.13.

- Page 73, l.17 S.A., p. 294

- Page 73, l.21 He was a tutor to Khwāja Nūh but he always nursed the idea of becoming an *Imām*. This position was the sole privilege of Khwāja Muḥammad *Imām* and in his absence, this function was automatically assumed by his younger brother, Khwāja Mūsā. Once, when both these brothers were away at Ajodhan, Sayyid Muḥammad Khādim, knowing the strong desire of Shāhāb al-Dīn, recommended him to Iqbāl Khādim, who elicited for him the permission of the Shaykh to lead the prayers. Initially it was a temporary arrangement but subsequently he became a permanent *Imām*. He was never formally declared a *Khāfiya* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn but still he enrolled disciples. This, according to Mīr Khurd, implied that he must have had the tacit approval of the Shaykh in this regard, otherwise a man of his calibre and rectitude would not have embarked on such an ambitious course.¹⁸²

- Page 73, l.22 G.A., f. 52b; S.A., p. 290.

180. S.A., pp. 306-308.

181. S.A., pp. 299-301.

182. S.A., pp. 290-93.

- * Page 74, l 11 Ethe records his name as Ahmad bin Muḥammad Nakhshabī Shīrkhān, but generally he is known as Mas'ūd-i Bak. Bak is the name of a dependency of Bukhara from which he traced his origin.¹⁸³
- * Page 74, l.20 *Kanz*, Vol. XIII, pp. 18, 20, 24.
- * Page 75, l.1 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III p. 149, No. 262.
- * Page 75, l.4 *G.A.*, f 60 *S.A.*, p. 314.
- * Page 75, l 12 *G.A.*, f 65
- * Page 75, l 12 *G.A.*, ff 65.
- * Page 75, l 16 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 120, No. 206.
- * Page 75, l.17 *S.A.*, (pp. 20-25) reads: Shaykh Abū Bakr Muṣallā-dār
- * Page 75, l.17 A near relative of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, he dedicated himself to the service of that great saint, one of his duties being to carry the Shaykh's prayer carpet to the Jum'a mosque of Kikukharī, after morning prayers on every Friday. Despite the toils and exertions he had to undergo in the service of the Shaykh and the looking after of the *Jama'at Khāna*, he would not let his schedule of ascetic exercises suffer at all, and he would fast for many consecutive days. At the same time, he was very fond of audition. In these gatherings he was so overpowered by ecstasy that he would give away every piece of his raiment to the musicians. In such situations, a loose apron was tied around his shoulders but even then he would continue dancing. Sometimes, he would utter such loud cries as would pierce through every heart and move everybody. After Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn's death, some of his followers accepted lands and stipends, but Shaykh Abū Bakr Muṣallā-dār, despite bitter poverty, did not succumb to any such temptation.¹⁸⁴
- * Page 75, l.18 *G.A.*, f 65b.
- * Page 75, l.22 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 45, No. 7
- * Page 76, l.6 He was a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn and compiled a collection of his utterances styled *Majma' al-Fawā'id*. Once, upon being asked by somebody if Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn was his disciple, the Shaykh replied in the affirmative and remarked that he was proud of that son.¹⁸⁵

183 *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office* Vol. I, p. 1023

184 *S.A.*, pp. 204-205

185 *S.A.*, p. 207

- Page 76, 1.7 G.A., f 66
- Page 76, 1.13 A.A., pp. 96-97, S.A., pp 225-26.
- Page 76, 1.19 S.A., pp 223-24
- Page 76, 1.22 The *Kanz al-Wuṣūl ilā Ma'rifaṭ al-Uṣūl* generally called *Uṣūl*, by Fakhr al-Islām Abī al-'Uṣr 'Alī bin Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Bazdawī (d. 482/1089-90), is the most important work on Hanafī jurisprudence.¹⁸⁶ Among its commentaries *Taiwīn* of Taḥiẓẓānī¹⁸⁷ (d. 792/1389-90) occupies an eminent position.
- Page 76, 1.23 According to G.A (f 66) he was his brother.
- Page 77, 1.3 According to the *Sayr al-Auḥyā'*,¹⁸⁸ the description of Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yahyā's encounter with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn so impressed his teacher, Maulānā Zahr al-Dīn Bhakkarī, that he also became restless to see the Shaykh which he did ultimately and seemingly became a disciple of his.
- Page 77, 1.7 Maulānā Ṣadr al-Dīn was a cousin of Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yahyā. They would usually prepare their lessons together, exchange notes and discuss the various points arising out of their studies in theology, jurisprudence and rhetoric. Even during their student days they were quite famous for their diligence, inquisitive nature and the search after the truth. If there were any ambiguity in the lectures of their teachers, contrary to other students, they would seek its clarification right in the midst of the lecture. Later, Maulana Shams al-Dīn Yahyā not only far exceeded his cousin, but also over-shadowed all the other scholars. Ultimately all the scholars of the town accepted his supremacy and the stock of whoever had studied under him was very high among the contemporaries.¹⁸⁹ Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd¹⁹⁰ and his *Khalifa* Sayyid Muḥammad bin Ja'far al-Makkī al-Ḥusaynī¹⁹¹ were two of his outstanding students who subsequently achieved great fame in the realm of mysticism.
- Page 77, 1.10 S.A., p 225
- Page 77, 1.21 Sanā'ī-i Ghaznawī, *Ḥadiqat al-Ḥaḥiqqa*, ed. Mudarrisi Raḍawī (Ishran 1329 H, Sh.), p. 420.

186. Safa, Vol. II, pp. 262-63, Ignace Goldziher, *A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature* ed. and tr. Joseph Desomogyi (Hildesheim-Germany 1966), p. 52

187. Ignace Goldziher, p. 52.

188. p. 224.

189. S.A. p 226.

190. *Ibid.*, p 225.

191. S.A., p. 136.

- Page 77, 1.22 See 'Atfar, p. 299.
 - Page 77, 1.22 Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Hātim bin 'Unwān¹⁹² bin Yūsuf al-Asanīm¹⁹³ was one of the great men of Balkh (*az muhtashimān-i Balkh būd*) and one of the senior saints of Khurasan. He was a disciple of Shaḡiq bin Ibrāhīm, and the teacher of Ahmad bin Khadrawayh.¹⁹⁴ In all his circumstances, from beginning to end, he never acted untruthfully, so that Junayd said 'Hātim al-Asanīm is the veracious one (*siddiq*) of our time'. He was the author of lofty sayings dealing with the different aspects of the human soul.¹⁹⁵ He died in 237/852, at Washajard near Tirmidh, in Transoxiana.¹⁹⁶
 - Page 78, 1.2 See Nizāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, ed. Muḥammad Mu'in (Tehran 1333 H.Sh.), p. 41. Saghānī does not accept it as a genuine *Hadīth*. See Bahā'ī Walad, *Ma'arif*, ed. Badī' al-Zamānī Furūzānfar (Tehran 1352 H.Sh., repr.), Vol. II, p. 261.
 - Page 78, 1.9 Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn Munawwar bin Shaykh Burhan al-Dīn Sulī bin Shaykh Jamāl Hānsawī was a prominent disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auhya' of Delhi. He received the *Khilāfat* the same day as did Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. First he was called into the presence of the Shaykh, who offered him the robe of *Khilāfat* with concomitant instructions. After the document of *Khilāfat* was also handed over to him he was dismissed to say two *rak'a* of thanksgiving prayers. In the meantime, Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was summoned and presented with a similar robe and instructions by the Shaykh. After he had also received his document of *Khilāfat* in the Shaykh's presence, Qutb al-Dīn Munawwar was again called in and directed to congratulate Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn on his elevation to the position of a *Khalīfa*. After Naṣr al-Dīn had also reciprocated the greetings, the Shaykh bade them embrace each other and to forget which of them got the *Khilāfat* first.
- Before seeing him off to Hansi, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn presented to Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn a copy of the 'Awārif which he had received from the latter's grandfather, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī, at the time of getting his *Khilāfat-nāma* endorsed by him. Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn had in turn been given this book by Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganjī Shakar. After Qutb al-Dīn Munawwar's death, among other things, this book was also inherited by his son, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn.¹⁹⁷
- Page 79, 1.2 *Qut al-Qulub*, by Abū Tālib Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin 'Atīyya al-Hārithī al-Makkī (d. 386, 996) is one of the oldest and most important

192. *Tabaqat al-Kubrā* (p. 80), has 'Unwāl.

193. Sulamī, p. 91.

194. Hujwīrī, p. 142; Nicholson, p. 115.

195. Hujwīrī, p. 142; Nicholson, p. 115.

196. Sulamī, p. 91; *Tabaqat al-Kubrā*, p. 80; and *Nafahāt* p. 64.

197. S.A. pp. 243-50.

authorities on Islamic mysticism.¹⁹⁸ Muhammad Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) as pointed out by Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419) in *Faṣl al-Khiṣṣ*,¹⁹⁹ extensively drew upon this work, both in method and material, in the compilation of his *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. The book was published from Cairo in 1310/1892-93.

- * Page 79, l 9 S.A., pp 225-27.
- * Page 79, l.17 A.A., p. 97; S.A., pp. 227-28.
- * Page 80, l 3 S.A., pp 228-29
- * Page 80, l 8 S.A., p. 296
- * Page 80, l.16 S.A., pp 297-98.
- * Page 81, l 2 See *Ihyā'*, Vol I p. 326, *Nafahat*, p. 322
- * Page 81, l.14 G.A., f. 49b.
- * Page 81, l.19 A.A., pp 98-100; G.A., f. 52.
- * Page 82, l.22 A.A., p. 98.
- * Page 83, l 5 A.A., p. 99.
- * Page 83, l 7 *Nafahat*, p. 610
- * Page 83, l 10 *Nafahat*, p. 610.
- * Page 83, l 17 S.A., (p. 34).
- * Page 83, l.18 Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir bin Khusrāu bin Ḥārith al-Qubādīyānī al-Balkhī al-Marwazī (d. 481/1088), the celebrated Persian poet,²⁰⁰ traveller²⁰¹ and Ismā'īlī propagandist.²⁰²

198. R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge 1966), pp. 338, 393. Also see Ignace Goldziher, p. 54

199. Bankipore, Vol. XIII, pp. 18-19.

200. His poetical works have been published at Tehran. See *Diwān-i Ash'ār-i Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir bin Khusrāu Qubādīyānī*, ed. Ḥājī Sayyid Nasr Allāh Taqawī et. al., Tehran, 1348 H.Sh., repr.

201. His *Safar-nāma* is the oldest extant Persian travelogue which gives invaluable information about the social conditions obtaining in the countries of his itinerary. See *Safar-nāma*, edited in the original Persian, with French translation by M. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1881, and *Safar-nāma-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir Khusrāu* Berlin, 1340 H.Sh., Tehran, n.d. repr.

202. For his life and works see *Diwān-i Ash'ār* Introduction, Rypka, pp. 185-89

- * Page 84, l 3 S.A., (p. 304): حداد از مختلطه
- * Page 84, l 23 S.A., pp. 301-303.
- * Page 85, l 1 S.A., pp. 304-305
- * Page 85, l 1 A.A., p. 100
- * Page 85, l 9 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 160, No. 213.
- * Page 86, l 8 *Diwān-i Kāmil-i Amīr Khusrāu*, ed. M. Darwīsh (Tehran 1343 H Sh.), p. 145
- * Page 86 l 9 He was a nephew of Amīr Hasan Siyāzi 'Alā',²⁰³ the famous compiler of the *Fawa'id al-Fu'ūd*, and not that of Amīr Khusrāu, as recorded in the *Akhbar al-Akhyār*²⁰⁴ and the *Kalimāt al-Sādiqīn*.²⁰⁵ since his tomb was usually referred to as *Qabr-i Khwāharzādā-i Mīr* ('the tomb of the Mīr's nephew'), and the title of Mīr was common to both Hasan and Khusrāu, the authors of the aforementioned works have been misled to infer that he was a nephew of Amīr Khusrāu, whereas all their other information about him is sheer reproduction of Amīr Khur'd's statement, whose father was a contemporary of Shams al-Dīn²⁰⁶
- * Page 86, l 10 S.A., (p. 314): سید خواجه و ملا محمد بن محمد بن محمد
- * Page 86, l 17 S.A., p. 315.
- * Page 87, l 1 S.A., p. 102, G.A., f. 111
- * Page 87, l 5 G.A., f. 38b
- * Page 87, l 12 *Nafahāt*, p. 511.
- * Page 88, l 14 A.A., p. 104.
- * Page 88, l 15 Dīya-i Nakhshabī (d. 751/1350-51) is said to have been a disciple of Shaykh Farīd, the grandson and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī. He lived in complete seclusion in Badayun and spent most of his time in literary pursuits. His works include the *'Ashrāt Mubashshara*, the *Kulliyāt*, the *Juz'iyāt*, and the *Tuḥf-nāma*.²⁰⁷

203. S.A., p. 314

204. p. 102.

205. *Text*, p. 86.

206. S.A., p. 314.

207. A.A., p. 104

- Page 89, l.2 A.A., p. 127
- Page 89, l.8 A.A., p. 108
- Page 89, l.16 *Nisāb al-Ihtisāb fī al-Fatāwā* based on well known legal authorities, on the functions of the *muhtasib* (the religious censor), published from Calcutta in 1830.²⁰⁸
- Page 89, l.19 A.A., p. 108, S.A., p. 311.
- Page 90, l.9 S.A., p. 315, A.A., p. 109, also see G.A., f. 59b.
- Page 90, l.22 See A.A., p. 129.
- Page 91, l.1 Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Ahmad bin Muhammad Ghazālī²⁰⁹ Ṭūsī, the younger brother of Imām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad bin Muḥammad was an outstanding mystic, preacher and Shāfiʿite jurisconsult of his time. In mysticism he was a disciple of Shaykh Abū Bakr Nassāj (d. 487/1094) and from amongst his own disciples the name of Shaykh Abū al-Najīb Suhrawardī is of particular note. According to Ibn Khallikān²¹⁰ (d. 681/1282-83) he was a good preacher, handsome in person and endowed with the gift of miracles and other signs of divine favour. His ruling passion was making public exhortations and for this he neglected the law of which he was a doctor. So much so that, according to a later authority,²¹¹ it was his preaching which served as a last straw in inducing his brother Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad to break away from things mundane and turn to the spiritual world. Also, he served as a substitute at Niẓamiyya-i Baghdad during the latter's absence.²¹² Of his works the *Sawānīh*,²¹³ aphorisms on love, deeply influenced later writers like 'Ayn al-Qudāt-i Hamadānī, Sanā'ī, Najm al-Dīn Dāya, Trāqī and Jārū. He died in 520/1126²¹⁴ at Qazwin.
- Page 91, l.2 Abū al-Qāsim bin 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh al-Gurgānī was the most outstanding pupil of Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī.²¹⁵ He was a contemporary of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Abū al Khayr and enjoyed very cordial relations with him.²¹⁶ 'Alī Hujwīrī, who appears to have been his novice, considered him the Qutb

208. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 275.

209. For the pronunciation of the word Ghazālī, see Sam'ānī, ff. 407b-408; Slane, Vol. I, p. 80. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Ghazzālī-Nāma*, rev. edn (Tehran 1342 H.Sh.), pp. 219-23.

210. Slane, Vol. I, p. 79.

211. *Ithāf al-Sada*, Vol. I, p. 8.

212. Slane, Vol. I, p. 79.

213. Ahmad Ghazzālī, *Aphorismen Über Die Liebe* ed. Hellmut Ritter (Istanbul 1942) (Bibliotheca Islamica XV).

214. Slane, Vol. I, p. 80; Cf. *Nafahat* p. 375; Rypka, p. 220.

215. *Nafahat*, p. 307.

216. *Maqāmāt-i Abū Sa'īd*, pp. 68-69.

of his age, visited him frequently at Tus and sought his guidance in matters spiritual.²¹⁷ He possessed a marvellous power of revealing the inward experiences of novices and was learned in various branches of knowledge.²¹⁸ Although Abū 'Alī al-Fārmadī was the most distinguished among his disciples,²¹⁹ his spiritual beneficence appears to have been transmitted through Abū Bakr al-Nassāj also.²²⁰

* Page 91, 1, 2 *Nafahāt*, p. 307.

* Page 91, 1 2 Among others who profited from the association of Junayd, the name of Ahmad bin Muḥammad bin al-Qāsim bin Maṣṣūr commonly known as Abū 'Alī al-Rūdbārī is particularly of note.²²¹ It was through him that the Suhrawardī saints traced their spiritual genealogy to Hasan al-Baṣrī and, through him to 'Alī bin Abī Tālib the patriarch of all the saints and mystics of Islam. Besides Junayd he also benefited from the company of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī, Abū Hamza, Hasan al-Musahhī and a number of other saints of Baghdad. While in Syria he associated with Ibn al-Jalīl.²²² Apart from being a scholar, jurist-consult, and *Muḥaddith*, he was also possessed of the knowledge of divinity.²²³ He died in 302/914-15.²²⁴

* Page 91, 1 3 Hasan bin Ahmad generally called Abū 'Alī al-Kādhb was one of the great names of mysticism in Egypt. Besides other saints, he is said to have associated with Abū Bakr al-Miṣrī and Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī.²²⁵ Although he was considered to be more learned and accomplished than Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī, still his attitude towards him was always that of respect and reverence.²²⁶ He died in 340/951-52.²²⁷

* Page 91, 1, 4 Abū al-Hasan Sarī bin al-Mughalās al-Saqatī was the maternal uncle and spiritual preceptor of Junayd. He himself is said to have been a pupil of Ma'ruf Karkhī.²²⁸ He was an eminent *Sūfī* and was well versed in various branches of knowledge. He was the first of those who paid attention to the arrangement of mystical stations (*Maqāmāt*) and to the explanation of spiritual states (*Aḥwāl*).²²⁹ Most of the Shaykhs of Irāq were his disciples.²³⁰

217. Hujwīrī, pp. 55, 301, 441.

218. *Ibid.*, p. 301, also see *ibid.*, p. 259.

219. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

220. *Nafahāt*, p. 370.

221. Qushayrī, p. 72; Sulamī, p. 354.

222. Sulamī, p. 354.

223. *Ibid.*

224. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

225. Sulamī, p. 386, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Pt. I, p. 112.

226. *Nafahāt*, pp. 201, 203.

227. Qushayrī, p. 75; Sulamī, p. 386, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, p. 112.

228. Qushayrī, p. 30; Hujwīrī, p. 137.

229. Hujwīrī, p. 137.

230. Sulamī, p. 48; Hujwīrī, p. 137.

He died in 257/870-71.²³¹

- **Page 91, 1.3** Abu 'Uthmān Sa'īd bin Sallām al-Maghribī was an eminent spiritualist and was well known for his attainments in various departments of knowledge.²³² He spent his time in the company of Abū 'Alī al-Kātib, Ḥatīb al-Maghribī, and Abū 'Umar Zujājī, and met various other saints including Naḥjūrī and Ibn al-Ṣā'igh.²³³ He practised various austerities and was the author of many notable sayings and excellent proofs concerning the observation of spiritual blemishes. He died in 373/983-84, at Nishapur.²³⁴
- **Page 91, 1.4** Abū al-Qāsim Junayd bin Muḥammad bin Junayd al-Qawāriri al-Baghdādī was one of the most prominent early ascetics of Islam and his teachings²³⁵ have had an enormous influence on the succeeding generations of mystics. He was born and bred in Baghdad but his family was from Nihawand,²³⁶ an ancient town in the province of Jibal.²³⁷ In jurisprudence he was a student of Ibn Thaur, a senior disciple of Imam Shāfi'ī.²³⁸ However some believe that as a jurisconsult he followed the practice of Sufyān al-Thaurī. In the realm of mysticism, he had as his masters Sarī al-Saqatī, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī²³⁹ and Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Qasab.²⁴⁰ He was not only an established authority on theology, jurisprudence and ethics, but also an acknowledged leader of the *Sūfī*.²⁴¹ Abu 'Abd Allāh Kharrī considered him to be one of the five great saints, others being Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, Abu Muḥammad bin Ruwaym, Abū al-'Abbās al-'Aṣā' and 'Amar bin 'Uthman al-Makkī, who were possessed of both Knowledge and Truth.²⁴² Shaykh Abū Ja'far al-Ḥaddād used to say that if Intellect were a man, she would have been in the shape of Junayd.²⁴³ Junayd attached great importance to the memorization of the Qur'ān and the writing of the *Ḥadīth*, and used to say: Do not emulate him, who has not practised both these things.²⁴⁴ He died in 297/909, and according to some, in 298/910, and was buried in Baghdad, beside the grave of Sarī Saqatī.²⁴⁵ After his death Abū

231. Qushayrī, p. 31.

232. Hujwiri, p. 199.

233. Sulamī, pp. 386, 431, 378, 312.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 479.

235. For his teachings see, Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader *The Life Personality, and the Writings of Al-Junayd* (London 1962), pp. 65-116.

236. Sulamī, p. 155; Qushayrī, p. 55; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 373; Slane, Vol. I, p. 338, *Nafahāt*, p. 80.

237. Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, p. 1.

238. Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyya* 'Abd al-Hayy Habībī (Kabul 1341 H. Sh.), p. 161, *Nafahāt*, p. 80.

239. Ibn Khallikān, p. 373; Slane, p. 338.

240. Qushayrī, p. 51; Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, p. 161 *Nafahāt*, p. 80.

241. Hujwiri, p. 161; Nicholson, p. 128.

242. Qushayrī, p. 34.

243. Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, p. 162; *Nafahāt*, p. 80.

244. Qushayrī, p. 52.

245. Ibn Khallikān, p. 374; Slane, p. 339 also see Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, p. 2.

Muḥammad Ahmad bin Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn al-Jurayrī, the most prominent of his disciples, was installed as his successor. Al-Jurayrī died in 311/923-24.²⁴⁶

- *Page 91, l. 4* Abū Maḥfūz Ma'ūf bin Firūz or Farāzān²⁴⁷ al-Karkhī was one of the ancient and principal saints of Islam. He was born of Christian parents²⁴⁸ but subsequently became a Muslim at the hand of Imām Mūsā al-Ridā.²⁴⁹ For his mystical training he served as a novice under the care of Dā'ūd al-Iṣṭī²⁵⁰ and practised ascetic austerities for a long time before he became a renowned saint. His life was characterized by complete detachment from the world (*Taṭīf*) and his sayings were prized highly by his contemporaries. He died in 200/815 and was buried in Baghdad.
- *Page 91, l. 6* Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd bin Nuṣayr al-Tā'ī al-Kūfī was a pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa and a contemporary of Fudayl bin 'Uyād, Ibrāhīm Adham²⁵¹ and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.²⁵² In mysticism he was a disciple of Ḥabīb Rā'ī.²⁵³ Before retreating into seclusion, he had mastered various branches of knowledge and particularly in jurisprudence had excelled all the doctors of his time. It was at this stage that Abū Ḥanīfa drew his attention to the need of putting that knowledge into practice.²⁵⁴ To start with his austerities, he sat in the company of Abū Ḥanīfa for one year listening to the debates of scholars and not uttering even a single word.²⁵⁵ The results of this restraint were so enormous that he is reported to have remarked later that that one year of complete silence did the work of thirty years in his subsequent spiritual career.²⁵⁶ He died between 160/777 and 165/782-83.²⁵⁷
- *Page 91, l. 6* Ḥabīb bin Muḥammad al-'Ajamī al-Baṣrī was a noted traditionist who transmitted from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, and other authorities.²⁵⁸ He was a contemporary of Ahmad bin Hanbal and Shāfi'ī and was held in high

246. Qushayrī, p. 64.

247. Sulamī, pp. 83-84.

249. Qushayrī, p. 29.

249. *Ibid.*, 'Attār, p. 324. The story of his conversion to Islam by the Shi'ite Imām 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Ridā is generally discredited. See *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, tr., A.J. Arberry (London 1966), p. 161.

250. Qushayrī, p. 508.

251. Hujwiri, pp. 113, 136; Nicholson, pp. 93, 109. 'Attār, p. 263, *Nafahat*, p. 41.

252. He is reported to have said to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: 'O son of the Apostle of God, counsel me, for my mind is darkened.' Ja'far replied: 'O Abū Sulaymān thou art the ascetic of thy time: what need hast thou of counsel from me?' See Nicholson, p. 79; Hujwiri, p. 95.

253. Abū Ḥalīm Ḥabīb bin Salīm al-Rā'ī was a companion of Salman Farisī. See Hujwiri, p. 109, Nicholson, p. 90.

254. Qushayrī, p. 35; Hujwiri, p. 177; Nicholson, p. 95.

255. Qushayrī, p. 35.

256. 'Attār, p. 264.

257. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 261, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, p. 138.

esteem by both of them.²⁵⁹ At first he was a notorious usurer but later he repented of his sins and became a pupil of Hasan al-Baṣrī.²⁶⁰ During daytime he would apply himself to the acquisition of knowledge while his nights were spent in the worship of God in his convent which he had established on the bank of the Euphrates.²⁶¹

- * Page 91, l 11 For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 128, No. 218.
- * Page 92, l. 8 *G.A.*, f. 24b
- * Page 92, l. 8 *A.A.*, p. 129
- * Page 92, l. 12 *G.A.*, f. 24
- * Page 93, l. 5 *A.A.*, pp. 143-46
- * Page 93, l. 19 *A.A.*, p. 144
- * Page 94, l. 4 *A.A.*, p. 144.
- * Page 94, l. 6 *Ihyā'* Vol. III, pp. 27, 35, 79
- * Page 94, l 6 *Sūfī aphorism* See *Hajwiri*, p. 420
- * Page 94, l 7 *Kanz*, Vol. VIII, p. 286. Also see *Hajwiri*, pp. 42, 413, 'Awariḥ, Vol. III, p. 247
- * Page 94, l. 9 *A.A.*, p. 144.
- * Page 94, l 11 *Qur'an*, 4: 101
- * Page 94, l. 15 *Qur'an*, 11: 7.
- * Page 94, l. 17 *Qur'an*, 63: 9
- * Page 94, l 18 *A.A.*, p. 145
- * Page 94, l. 19 *Qur'an*, 65: 4
- * Page 94, l 19 *Qur'an*, 39: 37

258. *Muslim Saints and Mystics* p. 32

259. 'Attār, p. 64.

260. *Hajwiri*, p. 107; Nicholson, p. 88; *Aṭṭār* pp. 59-60.

261. 'Attār, p. 60.

- Page 94, 1.23 A.A., p. 145.
- Page 94, 1.24 Qur'ān, 33 29.
- Page 95, 1.23 A.A., p. 145
- Page 95, 1.5 Qur'ān, 25 4.
- Page 95, 1.6 A.A., p. 145
- Page 95, 1.12 A.A., p. 146.
- Page 95, 1.15 G.A., f. 31.
- Page 96, 1.10 Qur'ān, 38 245
- Page 96, 1.22 A.A., p. 147.
- Page 96, 1.23 The celebrated treatise on logic by Najm al-Dīn 'Alī bin 'Umar Kaṭībī Qazwīnī (d. 675/1276-77). It derives its name from the waḥī Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Juwaynī (d. 681/1282-83).²⁶²
- Page 96, 1.23 The *Maṭālī' al-Anwār* generally referred to as *Matālī'*, by Sirāj al-Dīn Abū al-Thana' Maḥmūd bin Abī Bakr bin Aḥmad al-Urmawī²⁶³ (d. 683/1283-84), is a well known treatise on logic. 'Allāma Quth al-Dīn Buwayhī al-Rāzī's *Lawāmi' al-Asnār fī Sharḥ Matālī' al-Anwār*,²⁶⁴ is one of the several commentaries on this work.
- Page 96, 1.25 The *Manār al-Anwār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* by Abū'l Barakāt 'Abd Allāh bin Aḥmad bin Mas'ūd al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310 or 711/1311), is a well known work on jurisprudence. It was printed in Delhi in 1870.²⁶⁵
- Page 96, 1.25 The *Tawfīh al-Aṣḥār Sharḥ al-Manār* MS (No. 1721) in the Library of the India Office. No other copy of this work appears to have been recorded.²⁶⁶
- Page 97, 1.1 A.A., pp. 145-48.
- Page 97, 1.5 *Lāmiyyat al-Ajam* is an Arabic composition by a Persian poet and scholar, Fakhr al-Kaṭṭāb Abū Ismā'īl Husayn bin 'Alī bin Muhammad Tughrā'ī Isfahānī (killed sometime between 513/1119-20 and 518/1124-25) in

262. A.M.I.O., Vol. I, p. 140.

263. Safa, Vol. III, p. 243.

264. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

265. A.M.I.O., Vol. II, p. 208.

266. A.M.I.O., Vol. II, p. 284.

imitation of a similar ode — *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* — of the fierce and intrepid desert poet Shanfarā al-Azdī.²⁶⁷ Despite some similarities, Ṭughrāṭ's poem does not have the literary merit of his predecessor's but still enjoys the reputation of a pre-eminent piece of art.²⁶⁸

- *Page 98, l. 9* Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī the nephew of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was also a personal attendant of his. He enjoyed the same amount of confidence with Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn as did Iqbāl *Khādim*, with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliyyā. The looking after of the day-to-day affairs of the hospice was also his responsibility.²⁶⁹ Seeing the Shaykh on his deathbed, he implored him to nominate his successor lest the order should discontinue altogether. With due regard to his sincerity, the Shaykh asked him to bring him the names of some suitable candidates. Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn prepared three separate lists and submitted them to the Shaykh for his perusal. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn glanced through these lists and remarked 'Zayn al-Dīn Ask them to take care of their own faith, let alone the carrying of the burden of others.' And he willed that all the material remnants of his *Pir* be interred with him in the grave. His will was carried out and the spiritual robe, staff, rosary, bowl and the wooden sandals that he had inherited from Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, were buried with him.²⁷⁰
- *Page 98, l. 1* A.A., p. 149.
- *Page 98, l. 3* K.M., pp. 255, 287, 289.
- *Page 98, l. 3* For his grave, see L.M. & H.M., Vol III, p. 135, No. 229.
- *Page 98, l. 7* A.A., pp. 164-67
- *Page 98, l. 18* *Tamhīdāt*²⁷¹ by 'Ayn al-Qudāt al-Miṣbāḥī al-Hamadānī (d. 525/1131) is one of the most important treatises on *Sūfī* doctrine before Ibn 'Arabī.²⁷² Some authors²⁷³ have confused it with another equally important work of 'Ayn al-Qudāt, called *Zubdat al-Haqā'iq*.²⁷⁴ *Tamhīdāt* is

267. Some modern authorities are skeptical about the ascription of the *Lamiyyat al-'Arab* to Shanfarā, see Clement Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (Beirut 1966), p. 20.

268. For modern criticism of the poet, see R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge 1966 repr.), p. 326, Ignace Goldziher, *A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature* tr. & ed. Joseph Desomogy (Hüdesheim-Germany 1966), p. 80, and H.A.R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction* (Oxford 1963), Paperback, p. 126.

269. K.M. p. 159.

270. *Ibid.*, p. 287. When Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn died, the relics like the robe and the prayer carpet that he had received from Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn were also buried with him. See S.A. p. 343.

271. Ed. 'Alī Usayrān, Tehran, 1340 H. Sh.

272. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1964), p. 150, note 15.

273. E.g. Safa, Vol. II p. 940.

274. Rahīm Farmanish *Aḥwāl-o Āthar-e Ayn al-Qudāt al-Miṣbāḥī al-Hamadānī* (Tehran 1338 H.Sh.), pp. 107-10, 118-25, also see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, p. 150, note 15.

divided into ten chapters, each called *Tamhīd*, wherein the author deals with different aspects of the *Sūfī* path in much the same way as he has done in his letters. The language is simple but interspersed with Persian and Arabic verses. Wherever the situation warrants he does not hesitate to have recourse to anecdotes and allegories, which in turn add to the absorbing nature of the book.

- * Page 98, l 19 The MS. of his *diwān* called the *Nūr al-Yaqīn* is preserved in the British Museum.²⁷⁵
- * Page 98, l 20 *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn* by Mas'ūd-i Bak is a treatise in Persian, wherein a very clear and succinct exposition of the principles and doctrines of *Sūfism* is contained. The book consists of fourteen sections, each called *kashf*, i.e. Revelation. Every *Kashf* is followed by a *Nukta* or Point, wherein the preceding *Kashf* has been further elaborated. The book starts with an Introduction and ends with an epilogue. The style of the author is in many ways influenced by the writings of 'Ayn al-Qaḍāt-i Hamadānī. A manuscript of this work, elegantly calligraphed, but not free from orthographic errors, is preserved in the India Office Library.²⁷⁶
- * Page 99, l 6 A.A., p. 165, *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn*, ff. 194-194b.
- * Page 99, l 8 Qur'ān, 17: 86.
- * Page 99, l 9 Qur'ān, 17: 86.
- * Page 99, l 15 A.A., p. 165, *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn*, ff. 197-98.
- * Page 99, l.18 Qur'ān, 18: 36.
- * Page 99, l.21 Cf. *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn*, ff. 197-98.
- * Page 100, l.2 S.A., p. 194.
- * Page 100, l.9 For his tomb, see *LM & HM* Vol. II p. 80, No. 118.
- * Page 100, l.9 G.A., f. 56.
- * Page 100, l.22 A.A., p. 116.
- * Page 100, l 23 S.A., p. 147.

275. Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (London 1881), Vol. II, p. 632.

276. Herman Ethé, Vol. I. p. 1027 MS. No. 1844.

- Page 101, 1.5 Cf. S.A., p. 147
- Page 101, 1.9 For his grave see *LM & HM*, Vol. IV, p. 12, No. 19
- Page 101, 1.10 *G.A.*, f. 56b.
- Page 101, 1.13 For his grave, see *LM & HM*, Vol. III, p. 111, No. 185.
- Page 101, 1.14 *A.A.*, p. 116
- Page 101, 1.16 *G.A.*, f. 68b.
- Page 101, 1.21 *G.A.*, f. 56b.
- Page 102, 1.4 *A.A.*, pp. 190-91.
- Page 102, 1.11 Maulānā Sirāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān, commonly called Akhlī Sirāj, was the first *Sūfī* from Awadh, to join the company of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Auliya'. Except for a short annual visit to Lakhnauti to see his mother, he would spend most of his time in the *Jamā'at Khāna* of his *Pir*. When his name came up for consideration as a *Khalīfa*, the Shaykh was reluctant in view of his shallow knowledge. So, he had to start his education at a comparatively advanced age. Amīr Khurd who was his class-fellow informs us that he studied *Mizān*, *Tarīf*²⁷⁷ and other books on grammar under Maulānā Fakhr al-Dīn Zarrādī, who authored a book called *Tarīf-i 'Uthmānī* for this student of his. As for other books like *Kāfiyya*, *Mufarrasat*, *Qudūri* and *Majma' al-Bahrayn*, he studied them under the care of Maulānā Rukn al-Dīn Andarjī, who himself was an old student of Maulānā Zarrādī.²⁷⁸ Meanwhile, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn also made him his *Khalīfa*, but he did not discontinue his education. Rather, he continued it under the direct supervision of the Shaykh himself. When scholars were being uprooted from Delhi, he set out for Lakhnauti and settled there.²⁷⁹ After his death his mission was continued by his *Khalīfa*, Shaykh 'Alī al-Dīn bin As'ad Lāhaurī Bengālī, who died at Pandua in 800/1397-98.²⁸⁰
- Page 102, 1.20 *Muqaddimat ft al-Nahw* commonly called *Kāfiyya*, by Ibn Hājib Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amar 'Uthmān bin 'Umar Mālikī (d. 646/1248-49) is a celebrated work on Arabic syntax.²⁸¹ This work he later versified and named *Wāfiyya*. As a rule, the metre of *rujuz* was used for the versification of prose

277 This book was first introduced in India by a Mālikite scholar from Baghdad, during the days of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn. See S.A., p. 267

278. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

279. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89; *A.A.*, pp. 86-87.

280. *A.A.*, pp. 140-41.

281. *Safa*, Vol. III, p. 288.

textbooks to facilitate the memorization of their contents.²⁸²

- Page 103, l. 4 A.A., pp. 190-91
- Page 103, l. 11 A.A., p. 191.
- Page 103, l. 13 Qur'ān, 18: 65.
- Page 103, l. 13 A.A., p. 191
- Page 103, l. 15 *Rhya'*, Vol. I, p. 327.
- Page 103, l. 16 An aphorism ascribed to Abū al-Qāsim Naṣrābādī. See *Nafahāt*, p. 42. Also see *ibid.*, p. 386
- Page 103, l. 17 A.A., p. 191
- Page 104, l. 6 A frequently quoted ingenuine *Hadīth*. See *Ma'ārif*, Vol. II, p. 326
- Page 104, l. 19 G.A., f. 131b.
- Page 104, l. 20 A.A., p. 205.
- Page 105, l. 4 *Lam'a'at*,²⁸³ one of the best specimens of Persian literary prose, was written by Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289). According to Daulatshāh,²⁸⁴ 'Irāqī was a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī,²⁸⁵ who later referred him to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī²⁸⁶ (d. 661/1262). The latter was so impressed by 'Irāqī's devotion and ascetic austerities that he not only gave him the hand of his daughter²⁸⁷ but also nominated him as his *Khaliḥa*.²⁸⁸ This latter act of the Shaykh aroused the jealousy of 'Irāqī's colleagues. Thus, upon his master's death, the poet set out for the Hijaz, a coveted goal as it is of all the *Ṣūfī*, whence he went to Asia Minor.²⁸⁹ In those days Qurruya was the abode of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-

282. Ignace Goldziher, p. 71

283. Ed. H. Ratter (Bibliotheca Islamica Series XVI).

284. *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 238.

285. H. Masson confuses Suhrawardī with Shazadūnī; see his article "Irāki", in *E I*, Vol. III, p. 1269, line 23.

286. According to some (e.g. Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, p. 605 and Jamālī, *Siyar al-Ārifīn*, p. 108) 'Irāqī was a direct disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā'. For reconciliation of this view with Daulatshāh's (note 275 above), see Safa, Vol. III, p. 573.

287. Jāmī, p. 602, Jamālī, p. 109.

288. Jāmī, p. 602.

289. Referring to 'Irāqī's thirst for higher gnostic knowledge, Jan Rypka (pp. 254-55) writes: 'It was for this reason that he ['Irāqī] pursued the holy shaykhs from India as far as Hijaz'. The statement is very confusing and is not borne out by any of the veritable authorities on the subject.

Ma'ālī Muhammad bin Ishāq bin Muhammad al-Qūnawī, a distinguished scholar and reputed expounder of Ibn 'Arabī's ideas.²⁹⁰ His lectures on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam* were a great attraction for 'Irāqī who attended them regularly. It was during those days that he applied himself to the writing of his book, the *Lama'āt*, which was liked and appreciated by Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn also.²⁹¹

In thought and content the book is an imitation of Ghazālī's *Sawānīh*, and is divided into 28 sections,²⁹² each section called *Lam'a* ('Flash'), wherein a truly mystical meaning of Love, the basic unity of Love, Lover and Beloved, and their ultimate merging in God have been discussed.²⁹³

- Page 105, l. 8 Jamālī, p. 181
- Page 105, l. 11 The *Maknūbāt*²⁹⁴ or letters of 'Ayn al-Qudāt al-Mīyānī al-Hamadānī (d. 525, 1132) are written in a very simple, sweet and spontaneous fashion. Interspersing verses make them all the more readable and interesting. The way he dilates upon different mystical points in successive series of letters, and the absence of the names of the addressees, characterize them as the soliloquies of a heart overflowing with divine love, rather than conventional letters
- Page 105, l. 23 Jamālī, p. 184.
- Page 106, l. 3 For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 63, No. 92.
- Page 106, l. 5 *A.A.*, pp. 209-10
- Page 106, l. 16 *A.A.*, p. 210
- Page 107, l. 4 For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 135, No. 238
- Page 107, l. 6 For Sikandar Lōdī's tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 37, No. 49.
- Page 107, l. 7 *A.A.*, pp. 209-10.
- Page 107, l. 8 Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Bukharī, also known as Sayyid Jalāl

290. For his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* entitled *Pukūk al-Fuṣūṣ*, see Bankipore, Vol. XIII, p. 60, MS. No. 873.

291. *Nafahat*, p. 603.

292. According to Jamālī (p. 109), 'Irāqī wrote 28 *Lama'āt* in correspondance with the 28 *Fuṣūṣ* of *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*. He is not right in his assumption, since the number of *Fuṣūṣ* in the said book is 27 and not 28, as supposed by him. See *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, ed. 'Abū al-A'la 'Afīfī, pp. 57-58.

293. For commentaries on the work see *Safā*, Vol. III, pp. 1197-98.

294. *Namāhāt 'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadānī*, ed. 'Alī Naqī Munzawī and 'Alī 'Usayrān, (2 vols., Tehran 1969-72)

Surkh and Sayyid Jalāl Buzurg, was a disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī. He came from Bukhara to Bhakkar, and after his marriage with the daughter of a local celebrity, Sayyid Badr al-Dīn by name, moved to Uch and settled there.²⁹⁵ He was survived by two sons, Sayyid Ahmad Buzurg and Sayyid Maḥmūd. His famous grandson Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahānīyān Jahāngashī, was the son of the latter, while Shaykh Ḥajjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī under reference, traced his lineage to the former.²⁹⁶

- * Page 109, l.12 Cf p. 212
- Page 109, l.13 A.A., (p. 212) reads. و بهمنیہ الہر او برسر
- Page 109, l.17 A.A., (p. 279) reads چو من جو - - - - -
- Page 111, l.2 G.A., f. 145b.
- Page 111, l.7 Abu Ishāq Nisāburī, *Qisas al-Anbiyā'* ed. Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī (Tehran n.d.), pp. 374-75
- Page 112, l.3 A.A., p. 214.
- * Page 112, l.4 *Gulshan-i Rāz*²⁹⁷ is a long poem running into about 1000 verses, composed by Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shabastārī Tabrizī (d. 720/1320) in answer to fifteen versified questions on the doctrines of Sūfīs propounded by Amīr Sayyid Ḥumaynī,²⁹⁸ and is considered to be 'one of the best manuals of Sūfī Theosophy which exist'.²⁹⁹ It soon captured the imagination of Sūfīs and several commentaries on it were attempted,³⁰⁰ *Mafārh al-I'jāz fī Sharḥ Gulshan-i Rāz* of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī Lāhijī (completed in 877/1472-73) being one of the most outstanding and exhaustive ones.³⁰¹
- Page 112, l.3 A.A., p. 214.
- Page 113, l.11 A.A., p. 215
- Page 113, l.15 He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn Ḥakīm. Prior to his

295. A.A., p. 60.

296. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

297. Printed several times in Iran, India and Afghanistan. It is also published as a part of Lāhijī's aforementioned commentary, see *Mafārh al-I'jāz fī Sharḥ Gulshan-i Rāz* ed. Kaywān-i Samī'ī (Tehran, n.d.) Its English translation by E. H. Whinfield was published in London in 1880.

298. *Nafahat*, pp. 605-606; Jamālī, p. 110.

299. E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge 1964), vol. II, p. 184.

300. Safa, Vol. III, p. 766.

301. For a list of commentaries, see Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyyat, *Dānishmandān-i Āzarhā ijān*, pp. 336-38, quoted in Safa, p. 766, note 1.

initiation at the hands of the Shaykh, his main occupation was teaching at the *Jāmi'* mosque of Delhi, but he would also spare some time for meditation. When over a long period he failed to attain his goal, he approached Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn and sought his advice. The Shaykh directed him to completely dissociate himself from books. So except for the choicest few which he really prized, the rest of his books he disposed of in one way or another. But to his distress, his heart was still infected with dissatisfaction. He again approached the Shaykh but got the same advice. Consequently, with no alternative left, he made his way to the river and while tears were rolling down upon his cheeks, he washed all the contents off the dearest of his manuscripts also. With the last word, the last vestige of discomposure was also washed away from his heart and tranquility took over. Shaykh Qāsim Awadhī and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Isā Jaunpūrī were two of his main disciples. Shaykh 'Isā was hardly seven or eight years old when he enrolled as the disciple of Shaykh Fath Allāh, who referred him to Qādī Shuhāb al-Dīn for his grooming in traditional sciences. He studied Bazdawī under the Qādī, who is said to have written a commentary on that book especially for his sake. In his later years, Shaykh 'Isā acquired great fame and became one of the most prominent saints of Jaunpur. He died in Jaunpur and was buried there.³⁰²

- Page 113, l. 24 G.A., f. 154b. He died on 14 Muharram 944/23 June 1533
A.A., p. 215
- Page 113, l. 25 A.A., p. 215
- Page 114, l. 7 For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 52, No. 66.
- Page 114, l. 11 G.A., f. 155b.
- Page 115, l. 3 G.A., ff. 154b-155
- Page 119, l. 21 A.A., p. 218
- Page 120, l. 4 A.A., p. 219
- Page 120, l. 12 For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 52, No. 217
- Page 120, l. 17 Qur'an, 50: 18.
- Page 121, l. 21 A.A., p. 219.
- Page 122, l. 4 For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 73, No. 112.

302. A.A., p. 163.

122, 1.13 Jamālī, p. 3.

- * Page 122, 1.25 While explaining his philosophy of Ego in a letter, dated 2 February 1924, Iqbal writes 'My ideal of human personality — i.e. finite personality — is nowhere better expressed than in a Persian verse which an old Persian poet wrote on the Prophet

موسیٰ و خوسر و کعب و یوسف و عیسیٰ
و عیسیٰ و ذاب می نگری در سستی

This is my ideal of the unshakableness of the individual Personality even before the Infinite. In the whole range of Muslim literature there is not a verse like it, and these two lines enclose a whole infinitude of ideas. I do not know whether the poet was himself conscious of what he was saying, but it is not necessary to discover this for our purpose . . . *Lesters and Writings of Iqbal*, ed. & comp. B.A. Dar (Karachi 1967), pp. 2-3.

- * Page 123, 1.1 A.A., p. 221.
- * Page 123, 1.11 See Khwāja Nī'mat Allāh, *The Tarīkh-i Khān Jahānī* (Dacca 1960), Vol. 1, p. 225.
- * Page 123, 1.18 For his tomb, see L.M. & H.M., Vol III, p. 91, No. 145.
- * Page 123, 1.22 A.A., p. 223.
- * Page 124, 1.3 He died in 942/1535-36. A.A., p. 223.
- * Page 124, 1.7 See Qushayrī, p. 302, *Ṣūfī-nāma*, p. 85
- * Page 124, 1.13 G.A., f. 157b.
- * Page 126, 1.3 A.A., p. 228, G.A., f. 177.
- * Page 126, 1.16 For the tomb of Humāyūn, see L.M. & H.M., Vol II, p. 117, No. 160.
- * Page 127, 1.5 A.A., p. 228.
- * Page 127, 1.6 Qur'an, 67: 24.
- * Page 127, 1.7 A.A., p. 228.
- * Page 127, 1.7 A.A., (p. 228) reads *بیمانی من الحق و الباطل*
- * Page 127, 1.10 Qur'an, 6: 62.
- * Page 127, 1.11 A.A., p. 228.

- Page 127, l.13 A.A., (p. 228) reads, وانا اكرم لاله سور Cf. *Sūṭ-nāma*, p. 141.
- Page 127, l.14 A.A., p. 228.
- Page 127, l.18 A.A., p. 229.
- Page 128, l.3 A.A., p. 229.
- Page 128, l.11 A.A., pp. 229-30.
- Page 128, l.14 Qur'ān, 4: 59.
- Page 128, l.18 A.A., pp. 203-05
- Page 129, l.21 A.A., (p. 204) reads بظلال بهر
- Page 129, l.22 A.A., (p. 204) reads من حله مر — من حله ولب
- Page 129, l.25 For a description of the Qadaraqāh see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 212, p. 349.
- Page 131, l.14 A.A., (p. 243) — حسی
- Page 131, l.19 A.A., p. 243.
- Page 132, l.4 A.A., p. 243.
- Page 132, l.6 See *Zubda*, pp. 101-102
- Page 132, l.18 A.A., (p. 245) reads حس اب سب
- Page 133, l.5 *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*³⁰³ by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1248) is the largest and most encyclopaedic of his works, running into 560 chapters, each chapter divided in several sections. The author started writing this book as a result of a divine revelation which overtook him during the circumambulation of the Holy Ka'ba. It is celebrated for the exposition of the principles of metaphysics, the various sacred sciences and the author's own spiritual experiences and is a veritable compendium of the esoteric sciences in Islam, surpassing in scope and depth anything of its kind that had been composed before or since.³⁰⁴
- Page 133, l.5 One of the greatest mystics of Islam,³⁰⁵ the most prolific

303. Printed in Cairo in 1329/1911.

304. *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 98.

305. *E.I.*, s.v. 'Ibn 'Arabī'

of all the *Sūfī* writers,³⁰⁶ and according to some, the best of the *Sūfī* poets in the Arabic language³⁰⁷ after 'Umar Ibn al-Farīd³⁰⁸ (576-632/1181-1234), Muhyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Alāh Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin al-'Arabī al-Ḥatīmī al-Tā'ī, was born in 560. 1165 at Murcia in southern Spain. After the completion of his formal education, he embarked upon extensive travelling during which he came across many renowned saints and scholars including the famous Ibn Rushd³⁰⁹ (520-95, 1126-98). In 595. 1198 he left his home town, Murcia, for ever and set out for the Islamic Orient, which again he traversed very widely before finally settling down in Damascus in 621. 1223. By that time his fame had spread all over the Islamic world and almost every convent and seminary was resounding with the vast and complex system of doctrines propounded by him in his various tracts and treatises. His ideas have been debated for centuries, and are still studied by the scholars. He died in 638, 1248 in Damascus and was buried there.³¹⁰

- Page 133, l. 6 *Mutawwal* is the more elaborate (as compared to *Mukhtasar*, literally 'concise', by the same author) of the two commentaries written by Sa'd al-Dīn Ma'sūd bin Fakhr al-Dīn 'Umar Taṣṭāzīnī (d. 792, 1389-90) on Khaṭīb Qazwīnī's (d. 739. 1338-39) *Talkhīṣ-i Miftāḥ*³¹¹ which itself is a condensation of the third part of *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*, of Sakkakī Khwārazmī³¹² (d. 626/1229). The work deals with rhetoric and literary style, and occupies a very prominent position among the commentaries on *Talkhīṣ-i Miftāḥ*.³¹³
- Page 133, l. 11 A.A. p. 246. According to G.A. (f. 176b) his tomb was at Daulatabad in the Deccan.
- Page 133, l. 13 A.A., p. 246.
- Page 133, l. 25 A.A., p. 247.
- Page 134, l. 7 A.A., p. 247.
- Page 134, l. 15 A.A., p. 248.

306. *Ibid.* for his works see Osman Yahia *Historie et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn Arabi* (2 vols., Damas 1964).

307. Besides his *Diwān* (*Bulaq* 1271/1885 *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq* (tr. Reynold A. Nicholson, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series Vol. XX, London 1911) is another of his poetical compositions containing his mystical odes.

308. *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 100.

309. For his life, see L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rushd. A errores* (Paris 1948) Majid Fakhri, *Ibn Rushd* (Beirut, n.d.), and E.I. s.v. 'Ibn Rushd'.

310. For detailed discussion his life and doctrines see Nasr, pp. 83-121, Henry Corbin *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi*, tr. Ralph Manheim (Princeton 1969), A.E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyīd-Dīn Ibn al-Arabī* (Cambridge 1939). 1939).

311. *Safā*, Vol. III, p. 295.

312. *Ibid.*, p. 293.

313. *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 394.

- *Page 135, l. 1* *A.A.*, p. 249.
- *Page 135, l. 10* *Miyān Qāḍī Khān* bin *Yūsuf Nāṣihī Zafarābadī* was a senior disciple of *Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭāhir*. Emperor *Humāyūn* had so great a regard for him that once he sent a white paper with the seals, necessary for the completion of an imperial decree, and desired him to write for himself as much of land and wealth as he would like to have. The *Shaykh* flatly refused. The paper was then taken to his eldest son, 'Abd Allāh, and the same request was repeated. He too spurned the offer and remarked that it was not worthy of a son to go against the decision of his father. *Miyān Qāḍī Khān* died on 15 *Safar* 970/14 October 1562, in *Zafarabad*, near *Jaunpur*, and was buried there.³¹⁴
- *Page 136, l. 8* For *Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz's* tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 63, No. 107.
- *Page 136, l. 11* is equivalent to 976/1568-69. According to some, he died in that year. See *G.A.*, f. 199b.
- *Page 136, l. 12* *Qur'ān*, 50: 31c
- *Page 136, l. 20* *Abū Bakr Dūfā' bin Jahdār al-Shubī* was born and bred in *Baghdad*, though his family traced its origin from *Umrushana*, in *Transoxiana*. He performed the ritual of contrition in the assembly (*majlis*) of *Khayr al-Nassaj* and owed his subsequent spiritual training to *Junayd* of *Baghdad*. He was a prominent saint and a distinguished scholar of his time, and followed the *Malikite* school in matters of jurisprudence. He died at the age of 87, in 334/946, and was buried in the *Khayzuran* cemetery of *Baghdad*.³¹⁵
- *Page 138, l. 19* *Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār Nīshāpūrī* (d. 627/1229-30) is one of the three greatest imperial poets of *Persian* literature, the other two being *Sanā'ī* (d. 545/1150-51) and *Rūmī* (d. 672/1273). As many as 114 works are attributed to him but most of them are apocryphal and now extinct. From amongst his genuine works *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* is the most famous.³¹⁶ His *Dīwān*³¹⁷ has also been published.
- *Page 139, l. 10* *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*³¹⁸ is the most widely read work of *Ibn 'Arabī* (d. 560/1165); it consists of twenty-seven chapters, each named after some prophet representing a basic doctrine of *Islamic esotericism*. *Ibn 'Arabī*

314. *A.A.*, pp. 226-27

315. *Sulamī*, pp. 337-38, *Qushayrī*, p. 71, *Hujwī*, pp. 195-97, *Nicholson*, pp. 155-56, 'Attār, p. 614-38.

316. *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*, ed. *Sayyid Sadiq Ghaḥarī* (Tehran 1342 H.Sh.).

317. *Dīwān-i Ghazaliyyāt-o Qaṣī'da-ye 'Aṭṭār*, ed. *Taqī Ṭafāḍulī* (Tehran n.d.).

318. *Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, ed. *Abu al-Aṭā 'Afīf* (Cairo 1365/1946).

started this work after having a vision of the Prophet in 627/1229 in Damascus, but surely it was completed after the *Furūhāt al-Makkīyya* (composed in 629/1227), references to which are seen in this book. The book has been translated into various European languages³¹⁹

- Page 140, l.14 A.A., p. 278
- Page 141, l.4 A.A., pp. 281-82.
- Page 141, l.22 G.A., f. 166
- Page 142, l.6 A.A., p. 224.
- Page 142, l.11 He enjoyed very cordial relations with Shaykh Amān Pānī-patī, see A.A., p. 235
- Page 144, l.12 A stone inscription written in his hand is preserved in the Delhi Fort Museum. See L.M. & H.M., Vol. II, p. 82, No. 12.
- Page 144, l.23 See *supra*, p. 8, fn. 26
- Page 145, l.13 A.A., pp. 235-41, 291-301
- Page 145, l.14 I.e., Shaykh 'Add al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dīhlawī.
- Page 146, l.11 A.A., p. 298 According to Jamī the quatrain belongs to Khwāja Hasan Dīhlawī See *Nafahāt* p. 611
- Page 146, l.19 A.A., p. 292
- Page 146, l.20 A.A., p. 297.
- Page 147, l.9 A.A., p. 292.
- Page 147, l.11 A.A., p. 292
- Page 147, l.15 A.A., p. 293.
- Page 147, l.18 A.A., p. 294.
- Page 147, l.21 A.A., p. 294
- Page 147, l.23 A.A., p. 295

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 48.

- *Page 150, 1.4* *Sufar al-Sa'adat*, also known as *Sirāt al-Mustaqīm*, is a large collection of *Hadīth* relating to the life, character and teachings of the Prophet,³²⁰ compiled by Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī al-Lughawī al-Qurayshī al-Tamīmī al-Bakrī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 817/1414), a descendant of Shaykh Abū Ishāq Kazirūnī³²¹ and author of the famous *al-Qamūs*. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq (d. 1052/1642) wrote an exhaustive commentary on this work, which was completed in 1016/1607. A copy of the work transcribed and collated by the commentator himself is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.³²² The book has been published several times.³²³
 - *Page 150, 1.4* *Muskhāt al-Masābīh*³²⁴ by Walī al-Dīn bin Muhammad bin 'Abd 'Allāh al-Khaṣīb al-Tabrīzī is mainly an adaptation of Abū Muhammad bin Husayn bin Mas'ūd bin Muhammad al-Farrā' al-Baghawī's *Masābīh al-Sunna*. Traditions concerning almost every aspect of life are contained in Khaṣīb's work, but the emphasis is on the ones having edification value.³²⁵ Mention of long chains of transmitters' names is also scrupulously avoided. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dīhlawī wrote two commentaries on this work: *Lama'at al-Tanqīh fī Sharḥ il-Mishkāt al-Masābīh*³²⁶ in Arabic, and the *Ashī'at al-Lama'at fī Sharḥ il-Mishkāt*³²⁷ in Persian. Both these commentaries became popular for their skilful exposition of the subtle and abstruse points contained in the original work.
 - *Page 150, 1.12* In this tract entitled *Tawṣīl al-Murād ila al-Murād ba bayān al-Aḥzāb wa al-Aurād*³²⁸ the author apart from describing the rules for the recitation of litanies, attempts to bring about reconciliation between the views of the *Sūfīs* and the *Muhaddithīn*, on the subject.
 - *Page 150, 1.23* According to Hujwīrī it is a *Hadīth*. See *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 257, Nicholson, p. 579.
 - *Page 151, 1.7* *Tasliyat al-Masāb il-nayl al-Ajr wa'l-Thawāb*. In this treatise the Shaykh emphasizes the importance of patience in the face of misfortunes and calamities and exhorts his readers to tread the path of submission and resig-
320. Bankipore, Vol. XIV, p. 45.
 321. *Ibid.*
 322. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
 323. For different edition see, Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmī *Hayat-i Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dīhlawī* (Delhi 1953), p. 174.
 324. Published from Bombay in 1282. It has twice been translated into English, Eng. tr., A. N. Mathew (2 vols., Calcutta, 1809-10), and Eng. Tr., James Robson, (4 vols., Lahore, 1953-65).
 325. Ignace Goldziher, *Muslim Studies (Muhammedische Studien)* tr. C. R. Berger and S. M. Stern, ed. S. M. Stern (London 1971), Vol. I, p. 248.
 326. Text remains unpublished. Introductory portion was printed with the text of the *Afshak*. See Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmī, p. 167.
 327. Printed in four volumes by Nawalkishore. For various MSS. of the work, including the one with the author's autograph in Habib Gang Collection of the Muslim University Aligarh, see Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmī, p. 167.

nation to the divine will. An autographed copy of the author is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.

- Page 151, 1.12 Qur'an, 28: 69.
- Page 152, 1.13 *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Ishāq al-Kalābādhī al-Bukhārī (d. 330/990) is one of the most important Arabic works of reference on *Sufism*. Its manuscripts are fairly common, but the one (No. 1218) preserved in the Library of the India Office was made from a copy of the book autographed by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī (d. 1052/1646)³³⁰. The text was published in Cairo in 1933-34, and a translation, by A.J. Arberry, at Cambridge in 1935.

Within a century of Kalābādhī's death, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl bin 'Abd Allāh Mustamallī Bukhārī (d. 434, 1042-43) wrote a very exhaustive summary – *Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf dar 'Ilm-i Tasawwuf* which was lithographed in Lucknow in 1912. A condensation of Mustamallī's *Sharḥ*, prepared in 710/1313 by some anonymous scholar, has been published from Tehran in recent years³³¹.

- Page 153, 1.7 For the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 70, No. 168.
- Page 153, 1.11 *A.A.*, p. 291.
- Page 154, 1.5 Qur'an, 2: 187.
- Page 154, 1.8 *Waqi'āt-i Mushṭaqī*, British Museum MS Add 11633, f. 20.
- Page 155, 1.3 *A.A.*, p. 228.
- Page 156, 1.6 Qur'an, 6: 60.
- Page 163, 1.3 For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 237, No. 344.
- Page 163, 1.10 See *Zubda*, pp. 34-35.
- Page 163, 1.19 *Zubda*, p. 49.
- Page 163, 1.24 *Zubda*, pp. 34-35.
- Page 164, 1.1 Qur'an, 16: 99.
- Page 164, 1.1 Qur'an, 51: 50.

328. Printed in Agra in 1299.

329. R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 338.

330. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 99.

331. *Khulāṣat Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf*, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd Rāḥīf (Tehran 1349 H.Sh.).

- Page 164, 1.14 *Kanz*, Vol. III, p. 65. Also see *Nafahāt*, p. 34.
- Page 164, 1.19 *Qur'ān*, 50: 17.
- Page 165, 1.14 *Zubda*, p. 42
- Page 165, 1.23 *Qur'ān*, 71: 17.
- Page 165, 1.24 *Qur'ān*, 24: 36.
- Page 166, 1.1 See *Kanz*, Vol. VIII, p. 352.
- Page 166, 1.5 *Zubda*, p. 44.
- Page 166, 1.9 *Zubda*, pp. 43-44.
- Page 166, 1.14 *Qur'ān*, 7: 180.
- Page 166, 1.15 *Qur'ān*, 12: 88.
- Page 166, 1.20 *Zubda*, p. 44.
- Page 166, 1.23 A saying attributed to Junayd. See *Hujwiri*, p. 360.
- Page 166, 1.25 *Qur'ān*, 2: 21.
- Page 167, 1.1 *Zubda*, p. 46.
- Page 167, 1.14 *Zubda*, pp. 46-47.
- Page 167, 1.16 *Zubda*, p. 47.
- Page 167, 1.21 *Qur'ān*, 20: 74.
- Page 168, 1.5 *Zubda*, p. 48.
- Page 168, 1.7 *Qur'ān*, 42: 12
- Page 168, 1.9 *Qur'ān*, 6: 103.
- Page 168, 1.21 *Zubda*, p. 54.
- Page 169, 1.9 *Zubda*, pp. 59-60.

- Page 169, 1.14 *Zubda* (pp 60-61) reads ... من ...
- Page 170, 1.11 *Zubda*, p 61.
- Page 170, 1.12 Abū al-Fayḍ Ṭhaubān bin Ibrāhīm commonly called Dhūn al-Nūn al-Miṣrī was one of the most prominent early mystics of Islam. He studied under various teachers including Imām Māuk bin Anas,³³² and appears to have travelled extensively in Arabia and Syria. In the realm of mysticism he was a disciple of Isrāʾīl Maghribī,³³³ and followed the path of blame and affliction.³³⁴ He discarded the traditional symbolism for the expression of mystical truths and instead used the plain, intelligible language for the purpose.³³⁵ This made him extremely unpopular among the orthodox. At one stage he was arrested on a charge of heresy and was produced before the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), who was deeply impressed by his preachings and released him honourably.³³⁶ Dhūn al-Nūn died in 245/860.³³⁷
- Page 170, 1.16 *Zubda*, pp. 51-52, *Sharḥ-i Rubāʿiyāt*, p 10.
- Page 171, 1.5 *Sharḥ-i Rubāʿiyāt*, p. 10
- Page 171, 1.9 *Sharḥ-i Rubāʿiyāt* (p. 10) reads قال الميرزا محمد باقر الادريزكي
... ان ...
- Page 171, 1.14 *Sharḥ-i Rubāʿiyāt* (p. 10) reads ... ان ...
- Page 172, 1.9 *Sharḥ-i Rubāʿiyāt*, p. 30.
- Page 172, 1.21 *Ihyāʾ*, Vol. I, p. 224, *Sūfi-nāma*, p 87.
- Page 172, 1.22 *Makṭūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, MS, f. 9.
- Page 172, 1.25 *Makṭūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, MS, f. 11.
- Page 173, 1.6 *Makṭūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, ff. 11-11b.
- Page 173, 1.14 *Makṭūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 12b.
- Page 173, 1.17 *Makṭūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 13.
- Page 173, 1.19 *Makṭūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 14b.

332. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 315; *Nafahat* p. 32.

333. *Nafahat*, p. 32.

334. Hujwiri, pp. 124-25, Nicholson, p. 100.

335. *Nafahat*, p. 33.

336. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 316.

337. Sulamī, p. 16, Qushayrī, p. 26, *Tabaqat al-Kubrā*, p. 70.

- * Page 173, 1.24 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 14.
- * Page 174, 1.3 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 14 b.
- * Page 174, 1.11 Qur'ān, 3: 32.
- * Page 174, 1.12 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 17.
- * Page 174, 1.17 Qur'ān, 11: 115.
- * Page 174, 1.18 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 18.
- * Page 174, 1.19 *Ihyā'*, Vol. I, p. 325, also see Hujwiri, p. 11.
- * Page 175, 1.6 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, ff. 18-18b.
- * Page 175, 1.10 Qur'an, 40: 16.
- * Page 175, 1.13 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 19b.
- * Page 175, 1.18 *Maknūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, ff. 23b-24.
- * Page 175, 1.24 A similar aphorism is also attributed to Ibrāhīm Dihlīstānī, *Nafahat*, p. 218.
- * Page 176, 1.11 *Ihyā'*, Vol. III, p. 74. Also see Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānī, *Ahḍāth-i Mathnawī* (Tehran 1347 H. Sh. repr.), pp. 20-21.
- * Page 177, 1.1 *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 178.
- * Page 177, 1.7 *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 180b.
- * Page 177, 1.13 *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 181b.
- * Page 181, 1.20 Qur'ān, 105: 1.
- * Page 182, 1.13 *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bī Ṭāh*, f. 183.
- * Page 182, 1.21 Qur'ān, 17: 102.
- * Page 183, 1.14 *Sharḥ-i Rubā'iyāt*, pp. 40-41.
- * Page 183, 1.16 See *Dīwān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiṣ Shīrāzī*, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī and Qāsim Ghānī (Tehran n.d.), p. 136.

- *Page 188, I.18* *Maknibât-i Imâm Rabbânî*, Vol 1, Letter 106. Also see Appendix II.
- *Page 189, I 10* Qur'ân, 93 12.
- *Page 191, I.6* *Thyâ'*, Vol. III, p. 55.
- *Page 191, I.10* Qur'ân, 20:9.
- *Page 191, I 11* Qur'ân, 25 8.
- *Page 193, I 10* *Zubda*, p. 87.

APPENDIX I

*The Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī**

Ṭabaqa I

Timūr (770-807/1369-1405)

(1) The Sayyids and the Ṣafīs

Sayyid Amīr Kalāl, f. 15

Amīr Burhān, f. 15b.

Amīr Shāh and Amīr 'Umar, f. 16

Mawlānā 'Arif Dīg-garanī, f. 16b

Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Kalāl, f. 17

Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandī, f. 18

Khwāja 'Alī' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, f. 19b

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Marghābī, f. 20.

Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ṭā'ibādī, f. 21

Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, f. 22b.

Bābā Shankū, f. 22b

Makhdūm Jahānīyān Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, f. 23

Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl, f. 23b

Badī' al-Dīn Shāh Madār, f. 24.

Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aukānī, f. 24b

Bābā Maḥmūd Ṭūsī, f. 24b

Shaykh Muḥammad Shāh Farāhī, f. 25b

Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Khalwatī, f. 25b

Mawlānā Zahir al-Dīn Khalwatī, f. 26

Shaykh 'Alī' al-Haqq wa'l-Dīn, f. 26.

Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥakīm, f. 26b

Sayyid Ṭāj al-Dīn Shīr Sawār, f. 27b

Shaykh Qiwām al-Dīn, f. 28.

Qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir bin Qāḍī Rukn al-Dīn Kindī, f. 28

Mas'ūd Bak, f. 28.

Shaykh Sīrāj al-Dīn Sūkhta, f. 29

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(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

- Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, f. 29
 Sayyid Būchan al-Dīn Ashraf, f. 30b
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, f. 30b
 Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Birr, f. 30b
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shāfi'ī, f. 31.
 Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ḥanafī, f. 31
 Maulānā Ḥamid al-Dīn Shāshī al-Ḥanafī, f. 31
 Shaykh Būḥān al-Dīn al-Shāmī, f. 31b
 Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn, f. 31b
 Maulānā Khwājagī f. 31b
 Maulānā Aḥmad Thānēsarī, f. 31.
 Sayyid Yūsuf bin Sayyid Jamāl Ḥasanī, f. 32b
 Maulānā 'Abd Allāh bin Maulānā Luṭān al-Dīn Muḥammad, f. 33
 Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, f. 33
 Qādī Qutb al-Dīn bin 'Abd Allāh al-Imāmī, f. 33b
 Maulānā Ṣafī al-Dīn Khattānī, f. 33b.
 Maulānā Najm al-Dīn al-Tārmī, f. 33b
 Khwāja 'Alī Tabrizī, f. 34
 Maulānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh Kirmānī, f. 34

(iii) The Poets

- Shaykh Kamāl Khujandī, f. 34b
 Khwāja Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī, f. 36
 Khwāja 'Imād Faqīh, f. 37b
 Khwāja Salmān Sāwajī, f. 38
 Nāsir Bukhārī, f. 39
 Maulana Jalāl Ṭabīb f. 40.
 Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn, f. 40b
 Shaykh Kahaj, f. 41
 Maulānā 'Alī Badr, f. 41b
 Shaykh Mahmūd Zangī 'Ajam Kirmānī, f. 42

Ṭabaqā II

Mīrzā Mīrān Shāh and Mīrza Shāhrukh
(807-50/1405-47)

(i) The Sayyids and the Ṣūfīs

- Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Pārza Bukhārī, f. 42b.
 Khwāja Ḥasan 'Attār, f. 44
 Amīr Ḥamza, f. 45
 Maulānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Shāshī, f. 45b

- Bābā Shaykh Mubārak Bukhārī, f. 46
 Shaykh Strāj al-Dīn Kalāl Barmīsī, f. 46
 Maulānā Muḥammad Faḡhanawī, f. 46b
 Khwāja Musāfir Khwārazmī, f. 47b
 Maulānā Ya‘qūb Charkhī, f. 47
 Khwāja ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ghujdawānī f. 47b
 Maulānā Yūsuf al-Dīn Minārī, f. 48b
 Maulānā Fakhr al-Dīn Būrustānī, f. 49
 Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Khawāfī, f. 49b
 Amīr Qiwām al-Dīn Sinjāsī, f. 50
 Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, f. 50b
 Shaykh Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Tūsī, f. 51.
 Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Maudūd Kāsa-gar Nahrwālā, f. 57b.
 Khwāja Dā‘ūd, f. 52
 Shaykh Sa‘īd Habashī, f. 52b
 Sayyid Muḥammad Gūsū Darīz, f. 52b
 Na‘īm al-Dīn Shāh Ni‘mat Allāh Wafī, f. 53
 Khwāja Abū al-Wafā’ Khwārazmī, f. 54
 Shaykh Aḥmad Khattū f. 54
 Shāh Qāsim Anwār, f. 54b
 Shaykh Nūr Quṭb ‘Ālam, f. 55b
 Khwāja Ikhtiyār al-Dīn ‘Umar Īrajī, f. 56.
 Sayyid Sadr al-Dīn Rāḡū Qattālī, f. 56b
 Shaykh Yūsuf Budh f. 56b
 Mīr Sayyid Ashraf Simnānī, f. 57
 Sayyid Yad Allāh, f. 57
 Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Maudūd Kāsa-gar Nahrwālā, f. 57b
 Shaykh ‘Alī Parū, f. 58.
 Sayyid Aḥmad Nahrwālā, f. 58b
 Shaykh Chā‘īnladda Mānduwī, f. 59b
 Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr Aḡaḡ-dād al-Tamūmī, f. 59b
 Shaykh Ishāq Khattalānī, f. 59b
 Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn Khāmūsh, f. 60
 Maulānā Nūr al-Dīn Tāshkandī, f. 60

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

- Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Taftāzānī, f. 61
 Amīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, f. 62b.
 Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Jazarī, f. 64b.
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ūbūhī, f. 64b
 Khwāja Mu‘izz al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh Jāmī f. 64b
 Maulānā Nūr al-Dīn Lutf Allāh al-Mushṭahūr bi Ḥāfīz Abrū, f. 65
 Maulānā Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khawāfī, f. 65b
 Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn Khwārazmī, f. 66
 Sayyid Šadr al-Dīn Yūnus Ḥusaynī, f. 66b

- Khwāja Sā'in al-Dīn 'Alī Iṣfahānī, f. 67
 Maulānā Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghaffār Samarqandī, f. 67
 Qādī Ṣadr al-Dīn Imāmī, f. 67
 Maulānā Ḍayā' al-Dīn Nūr Allāh Khwārazmī, f. 67b
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Qā'imī, f. 67b
 Amīr Nūr al-Dīn Juḡānī, f. 67b
 Khwāja 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghī, f. 67b
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maulānā Shaykh 'Alī, f. 68.
 Maulānā 'Imād al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz Abharī, f. 68.
 Maulānā Zayn al-Dīn Tāhur Chalapī, f. 68b
 Maulānā 'Abd al-Raḥman Ḥanafī, f. 68b
 Shaykh 'Abū al-Qāsim Tihātī, f. 68b
 Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Fīrūzābādī, f. 68b
 Maulānā Hammād Marawī, f. 68b
 Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Balqī, f. 69
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn 'Ayyārī Ḥanafī f. 69
 Maulānā Khwāja, f. 69
 Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn Daulatābadī, f. 69b
 Qādī Naṣīr al-Dīn, f. 70.
 Maulānā Niẓām al-Dīn Nahrwālī, f. 70b
 Shaykh Kabīr, f. 71
 Shāh Dā'ūd Nahrwālī, f. 71b

(iii) The Poets

- Maulānā Muḥammad Shīrīn Mashhūr, f. 71b.
 Maulānā Ibn 'Imād, f. 72
 Maulānā Luṭf Allāh, f. 73
 Maulānā Bisāṭī Samarqandī, f. 74
 Khwāja 'Imāt Allāh Bukhārī, f. 74b
 Ishāq Shīrāzī, f. 75b.
 Maulānā Barandaq, f. 75b
 Khwāja Rustam Khwūdyūnī, f. 76b.
 Maulānā Badr, f. 77.
 Maulānā Katībī Nīshabūcī, f. 77b
 Maulānā 'Alī Shihab, f. 79

Ṭabaqa III

Mīrzā Sultān Muḥammad and Ulugh Bēg
 (850-53/1447-49)

(i) The Sayyids and the Ṣūfīs

- Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq, f. 80.
 Maulānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Fārsī, f. 80

Maulānā Abū Sa'īd, f. 80.
 Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Imāmī Isfahānī, f. 81.
 Shaykh 'Umar Mānūrīdī, f. 81b
 Maulānā Ahmad Maska, f. 81b
 Darwīsh Ahmad Samarqandī, f. 82
 Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Awadhī, f. 82b
 Shaykh Rif'at al-Dīn, f. 83
 Shaykh Awwar, f. 83
 Shaykh Fath Allāh Awadhī, f. 83b
 Shaykh Jalāl Gujarātī, f. 83b
 Shaykh Husām al-Dīn Mānikpūrī, f. 84
 Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, f. 84
 Shaykh Jamāl Gūjarī, f. 85
 Shāh Najm al-Dīn Mānduwī, f. 85.
 Shaykh 'Azīz Farūqī, f. 85b
 Malik Sharaf al-Dīn Shah Shahbāz, f. 86
 Sayyid 'Ashiq, f. 86

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

Ibn Furāt Misrī, f. 88.
 Ahmad Ibn 'Alī al-Misrī al-Shafī'ī, f. 88
 Maulānā Ghayāth al-Dīn Jamahīd, f. 88b.
 Maulānā 'Alī Shāshī, f. 88b
 Maulānā Nafīs al-Tahīb, f. 88b
 Maulānā Muhammad 'Ālīm, f. 88b
 Khwāja 'Isām al-Dīn, f. 89
 Khwāja Afdal al-Dīn Kishshī, f. 89
 Maulānā Muhammad Ardīstānī, f. 89
 Qadī Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Miskīn, f. 89b.
 Khwāja Faqīr Allāh Abū al-Laythī, f. 90b
 Maulānā 'Alī al-Dīn 'Alī Qūshanjī, f. 91
 Khwāja 'Abd al-Mū'min, f. 91.
 Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, f. 91b
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahīm, f. 92b
 Sayyid Murtaḍā, f. 93.
 Shaykh Tāhūr, f. 93b.

(iii) The Poets

Maulānā Yahyā Shīk, f. 94
 Maulānā Khayālī Bukhārī, f. 94b
 Maulānā Badakhshī, f. 95
 Bābā Saū'ī, f. 95b.
 Maulānā Mahmūd 'Ānī, f. 96
 Khwāja Mansūr, f. 96b

- Maulānā Qāsimī, f. 97
 Amīr Amīn al-Dīn Tarhībādī, f. 97.
 Maulānā Ḥasan Sulamī Tūnī, f. 98.
 Maulānā Ṭālib, f. 98
 Ḥafīz Ḥa-wā'ī, f. 98b

Ṭabaqa IV

Sultān Abū Sa'īd (854-73/1450-69)

(i) The Sayyids and the Ṣūfīs

- Burhān al-Dīn Khwāja Abū Naṣr Pārsā, f. 99.
 Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn Kāshgharī, f. 99b
 Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn Bīrjundī, f. 100b
 Quṭb 'Alam Gujerātī, f. 101
 Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn 'Umar, f. 101
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Bāyazīd Pūrānī, f. 102b
 Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kūsawī, f. 103
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Asad, f. 104
 Shaykh Ḥasan Muḥammad Asawālī, f. 104.
 Qadī 'Ata' Allāh 'Chishtī, f. 104b
 Shaykh Muḥammad 'Isā Jaunpūrī, f. 105
 Shaykh Isfara'īmī, f. 105
 Maulānā Aḥmad Isfarāghabādī, f. 105b
 Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūsī Al-yamanī, f. 106.
 Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh, f. 106

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

- 'Arab Shah 'Ajamī, f. 106b
 Maulānā Zayn al-Dīn Damishqī, f. 107.
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Tārūnī, f. 107
 Mubārakshah Qāhīrī, f. 107
 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Qalsān, f. 107
 Shaykh Abū al-Faṭḥ, f. 107
 Maulānā Muḥammad 'Arab, f. 107b
 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb Mashhadī, f. 108.
 Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Lisān, f. 108
 Maulānā Fath Allāh Tabrizī, f. 108b
 Maulānā Sharīf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qahhār Hājjī, f. 108b
 Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Rawāsi, f. 109
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Luṭf Allāh, f. 109b
 Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, f. 109b
 Maulānā Faḍl, f. 110
 Khwāja Murīd Dīwāna, f. 110

Khwāja Mu‘ayyid, f. 110
 Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Fadī‘ Allāh Rādīkālī, f. 110b
 Hāfiz Ghiyāth al-Dīn, f. 110b.
 Maulānā Sirāj al-Dīn Qaysarī, f. 110b
 Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn Nāmī Qāburī, f. 111.
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Damūshqī, f. 111
 Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Anṣārī, f. 111
 Shamnī al-Tamīmī, f. 111

(ii) The Poets

Shaykh Ādhārī Isfarā‘nī, f. 111b.
 Maulānā Tūqī, f. 112b
 Mīr Isḥām Ghazālī, f. 113.
 Maulānā Sīmī, f. 113
 Maulānā Sīmī Nishābūrī, f. 113b.
 Darwish Bābā ‘Alī Khwāsh-rawān, f. 114
 Darwish Manṣūr Sabzwārī, f. 114
 Amīr Shāhī, f. 114b
 Shaykh Kamāl Turbatī, f. 115b
 Sayyid Kamāl, f. 116
 Khwāja Yūsuf Burhān, f. 116b
 Khwāja Muhyī al-Dīn Auhad, f. 116b
 Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn, f. 118b
 Shaykh Ṭahir, f. 118.
 Khwāja Maḥmūd, f. 118b

Ṭabaqa V

Mīrzā ‘Umar Shaykh (873-99/1469-94)

(i) The *Ṣūfīs*

Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd Ābriz, f. 119
 Nāṣir al-Dīn Khwāja ‘Abd Allāh Ahrār, f. 120
 Maulānā Qāsim, f. 120b
 Maulānā Ja‘far, f. 121.
 Maulānā Burhān al-Dīn Khattalānī, f. 122b
 Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Shattārī, f. 122b
 Shāh ‘Ālam Gujarātī, f. 122
 Nūr al-Dīn Maulānā ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, f. 122b
 Shaykh Ismā‘īl Ḥarabī, f. 123b
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādūkārī, f. 124.
 Maulānā ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Anbarī, f. 124.
 Shāh Nu‘mān Qibchāqī, f. 124b
 Shaykh Kabīr Yamānī, f. 125

- Shaykh Husayn Sūfī, f. 125
 Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Ganj-i Asrār Jaunpurī, f. 125b
 Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Ganj-i Rawān, f. 125b
 Maulānā 'Abd Allāh Farankhūdi, f. 126
 Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ahmad Mānduwī, f. 126b
 Shaykh Dā'ūd Sawāfī, f. 126
 Khwāja Husayn Nāgaurī, f. 127b.
 Rājī Hāmid Shāh, f. 127
 Shāh Saydō, f. 127b
 Shaykh 'Imād al-Dīn, f. 128
 Makhdūm Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Jīlānī, f. 128b
 Sayyid Kabīr al-Dīn Ḥasan, f. 129
 Shāh 'Abd Allāh Qurayshī, f. 129
 Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Jaunpurī, f. 130.

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

- Shaykh 'Aḍī Damīshqī, f. 130.
 Amīr Sayyid Aḡl al-Dīn Muḥaddith Harawī, f. 130
 Maulānā 'Alī al-Dīn 'Alī Qūshajī, f. 130b.
 Abū al-Farāh Yamanī, f. 131b
 Maulānā Ahmad Qahīrī, f. 131b
 Shaykh Abū Dhar Halabī, f. 131b
 Maulānā Ahmad Sha'rī, f. 131b
 Maulānā Ḥasan Chalabī Fanārī, f. 131b.
 Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq, f. 131b
 Maulānā Husayn Muḥtasib, f. 132
 Maulānā Dā'ūd Khwāfī, f. 132
 Ibn Sha'bān Qāhurī, f. 132
 Ismā'īl Au'ānī, f. 132
 Ahmad Sirhī, f. 132
 Imām Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Damīshqī, f. 132b
 Maulānā Mu'īn al-Dīn Farāhī, f. 132b.
 Maulānā 'Alī 'Usrān, f. 132b
 Khwāja Maulānā Samarqandī, f. 133
 Sayyid Burhān Khāwand Shāh, f. 134
 Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, f. 134b
 Qādī Qutb al-Dīn Ahmad, f. 134b.
 Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Fannī, f. 135.
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn 'Alī al-Qārī, f. 135b
 Maulānā 'Iṣām al-Dīn Dā'ūd Khwāfī, f. 136
 Maulānā Qutb al-Dīn al-Ta'las, f. 136
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Bukhārī, f. 136b
 Amīr Sayyid Barhana, f. 136b.
 Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn, f. 137
 Maulānā Iḥdād, f. 137

(iii) The Poets

- Maulānā Luṭfī, f. 137b.
 Maulānā Badīʿī Samarqandī, f. 138
 Maulānā Tūsī Khurāsānī, f. 138
 Maulānā Junūnī, f. 138b
 Ibn Husām Khwafī, f. 139
 Maulānā Qanbarī Zih-cāb, f. 139b
 Maulānā Wāṭī, f. 140.
 Maulānā Sayfī, f. 140b
 Khwāja Āṣifī, f. 140.

Ṭabaqa VI

Bābur Padshāh (900-3/1495-1530)

(i) The Sūfīs

- Amīr ʿAbd al-Awwāl Nishābūrī, f. 141b
 Khwāja Muḥammad Yahyā al-Aḥrīr, f. 142.
 Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūḡī, f. 142b
 Khwāja Nāsir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jānī, f. 142b
 Shaykh Hasan Tāhir Jaunpurī, f. 143
 Maulānā Khwāja Kūhī, f. 143b
 Maulānā ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī, f. 143b.
 Shaykh Bājan Chishtī, f. 144
 Shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn Fāḍl Allāh al-Kubrawī, f. 144b
 Maulānā Abū Saʿīd Ūbīhī, f. 144b
 Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn Yahyā Shirāzī, f. 145
 Maulānā Muḥammad Qādī, f. 145
 Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwafī, f. 145b
 Hājī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī, f. 146b
 Shaykh Hājī Mahmūd Khabūshānī Kubrawī, f. 146
 Shaykh Muḥammad Malāda, f. 146
 Shaykh Aḥmad Shaybānī, f. 146b.
 Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Qādī ʿAtāʾ Aḥlāh Shattārī, f. 147
 Shaykh Budhan Shattārī, f. 147b
 Mīr Sayyid Ismāʿīl ibn Sayyid Abdāl, f. 148
 Shaykh Samāʾ al-Dīn, f. 148
 Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Biyābānī, f. 149
 Shaykh Aḥmad Jazamī, f. 149
 Maulānā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Kārd-gar, f. 149
 Maulānā Muḥammad Khurāsānī, f. 149
 Khwāja Murtaḍā Tāʾibādī, f. 149b
 Bābā Haydar Abdāl, f. 149b
 Maulānā Rūḥ Allāh, f. 150.

- Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn, f. 150.
 Maulānā Ghiyāth al-Dīn, f. 150b
 Maulānā Nūr Allāh, f. 151
 Shaykh Mīr Jān Bukhārī, f. 151b
 Shaykh Ma'rūf Jaunpūri, f. 151b
 Shaykh Husām al-Dīn Muntānī, f. 152
 Shāh Aḥmad Turk, f. 152b
 Shaykh Ad-han Dihawī, f. 153
 Shaykh Yūsuf Qattāl, f. 153
 Maulānā Shu'ayb, f. 153b
 Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Qiwām, f. 154.
 Shāh Miyyān Jū Chushtī, f. 154b.
 Shaykh Tahūr Ḥajjī Ḥamīd Ḥusūr Guwāliyyārī, f. 154b.
 Shaykh Bakhshū, f. 155
 Shaykh Jalāl Muḥammad Qādirī, f. 155
 Qāḍī Mahmūd Gujarātī, f. 155b

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

- Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn Harawī, f. 156
 Shaykh Ḥasan Rijā'ī, f. 156
 Maulānā Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Qastalānī, f. 156.
 Maulānā Khayālī, f. 156
 Amīr Khwund Muḥammad, f. 156b
 Maulānā Mīr Sadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, f. 156b
 Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn Shīrāzī, f. 156b
 Qāḍī Mīr Ḥusayn Yazdī Maybudī, f. 156b.
 Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Shaykh Taj al-Dīn Muḥammad, f. 157
 Shaykh Muḥammad Maudūd Lārī, f. 157
 Sayyid Haybat Allāh Shīrāzī, f. 157b
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī Shīrāzī, f. 157b
 Maulānā Ḥusayn Wā'iz Sabzwālī, f. 158.
 Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, f. 158b
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, f. 158b
 Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Taftāzānī, f. 158b
 Khwāja Dīyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf, f. 159
 Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Abīwardī, f. 159
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Hanafī, f. 159b
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Turābalusī, f. 159b
 Shaykh 'Azīz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz Makkī, f. 159
 Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Qastalānī, f. 159b
 'Afīf al-Dīn Yamani Shafī'ī, f. 159b
 Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn 'Atā Allāh Harawī, f. 160
 'Imād al-Dīn Abadī, f. 160.
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Damishqī, f. 160.
 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Hanbalī, f. 160

- Qāḍī Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ḥusayn Turbatī Hanafī, f. 160.
 Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Shāfiʿī, f. 160
 Shaykh Aḥmad Murahḥaj 'Adī Shāfiʿī, f. 160b.
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shurwānī, f. 160b.
 Maulānā 'Abd al-Nabī Bīrjundī, f. 160b
 Shaykh Jābir Allāh Makki, f. 161
 Shaykh Abū Bakr Quraysī, f. 161.
 Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Talanbī, f. 161
 Shaykh 'Azīz Allāh Talanbī, f. 161b

(iii) The Poets

- Amīr Ḥusayn Mu'ammā'ī Nīshābūrī, f. 162
 Maulānā Banā'ī, f. 162
 Amīr 'Alī Shīr ibn Kachkīna Bahādur, f. 162b
 Suhaylī, f. 163b
 Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Murwārīd, f. 164
 Maulānā Liqā'ī, f. 164b.

Tabaqā VII

Humāyūn [938-63/1531-56)

(i) The Sufis

- Maulānā Khwājagī Kāshānī, f. 165b
 Muḥyī al-Dīn Khwāja 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, f. 160b
 Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd, f. 161
 Maulānā Khwājagī Kāshānī, f. 165b
 Muḥyī al-Dīn Khwāja 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, f. 160b
 Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd, f. 161
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Hanafī, f. 167b
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq Jhanjhāna, f. 168.
 Shaykh Ḥusayn Khwārazmī, f. 168b
 Shaykh Amān Pānīpatī, f. 168b.
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Latīf Ḥājjī, f. 169b.
 Shaykh Sulaymān ibn 'Affān Mānduwī, f. 169b.
 Shaykh 'Alī' al-Dīn ibn Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Dīhlawī, p. 170.
 Shaykh Phūl, f. 170b.
 Shaykh Jaggan Kindwatī, f. 171b
 Shaykh Ḥusayn Multānī, f. 171b
 Shāh Manṣūr, f. 172
 Shaykh Abū al-Faṭḥ Hidāyat Allāh Sarmast, f. 172b
 Shaykh 'Alī' al-Dīn Majdhūb, f. 172b
 Shaykh Manjhū Ajmērī, f. 173.
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Kalmūsīndī, f. 173

- Shaykh Hasan, f. 173b
 Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn ibn Shaykh Badr al-Dīn, f. 174.
 Mryān Qāḍī Khān Zafarābādī, f. 174
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik Qārī, f. 174b.
 Makhdūm Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jilānī, f. 175
 Shāh Jalāl Shīrāzī, f. 175b
 Shaykh Muḥammad Hasan f. 175b
 Khwāja Qānū [Khānū?], f. 176

(u) The Scholars

- Maulānā Fakr al-Dīn 'Alī al Naqshbandī, f. 176b
 Mīr Abū al-Baqā', f. 177
 Maulānā 'Alī' al-Dīn Kirmānī, f. 177
 Maulānā 'Iṣṣām al-Dīn Isfarā'īnī, f. 177
 Khwūd Mīr, f. 177b
 Maulānā Ḥanafī, f. 177b
 Sayyid Mīrakhshāh, f. 177b
 Amīr Yaḥyā Qarawī, f. 178.
 Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn, f. 178
 Khatīb Abū al-Faḍl Shīrāzī, f. 178b
 Maulānā 'Imād Tārūnī, f. 178b
 Maulānā Yunus, f. 179
 Qāḍī Mīnā, f. 179
 Mīyān Ghuyāth Qādirī, f. 179b
 Shaykh Mūsā Ḥaddād Lāhaurī, f. 179b.
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Īrajī, f. 179b
 Mīr Sayyid Raff' al-Dīn Ṣafawī, f. 180
 Maulānā Shams al Dīn Muḥammad, f. 181
 Shaykh Abū Bakr Qurayshī, f. 181b
 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Tattawī, f. 181b
 Maulānā Muḥammad Pīr 'Alī, f. 181b
 Shaykh Amīn al-Dīn, f. 181b
 Shaykh Hasan ibn Mahmūd Ansārī, f. 182
 Shaykh Jalāl ibn 'Abd Allāh, f. 182b
 Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Mu'azzam, f. 183
 Shaykh Dānishmand, f. 183
 Maulānā Muḥammad Majd, f. 183

(iii) The Poets

- Shaykh Jamāl Dihlī wī, f. 183b.
 Junūnī Badakhshī, f. 184
 Wafā'ī, f. 185
 Nāḍīr Samarqandī, f. 185b
 Fāriḡī, f. 186

Tīmān Bukhārī, f. 186b.
 Haydar Tūnī, f. 187b
 Shāh Ṭāhir Khwāndī, f. 187b
 Khwāja Ayyūb ibn Khwāja Abū al-Baraka, f. 188b

Ṭabaqa VIII

Akbar (963-1014 1556-1605)

(i) The Ṣūfīs

Khwāja 'Abd al-Shahīd, f. 189b
 Maulānā Luṭf Allāh Naqshbandī, f. 190
 Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Dihlīdī, f. 190b
 Maulānā Wāl Miyān Kālī, f. 190b
 Sayyid Abū Sa'īd ibn Sayyid Rājū, f. 190b
 Maulānā Zayn al-Dīn Quwās Bihdā'ī, f. 191
 Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal Daulatābādī, f. 191b
 Khwāja Muḥammad Islām, f. 191b
 Maulānā Dīst Muḥammad Saḥḥāf Naqshbandī, f. 192.
 Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī, f. 197b.
 Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Bakrī, f. 193
 Shaykh Jalāl Harawī, f. 193b
 Maulānā Muḥammad Amin al-Dīn Zāhid Jāmī, f. 195b.
 Shaykh Qāsim Namāzī Kirmānī, f. 195b
 Shaykh Muḥammad Bakrī, f. 196
 Maulānā Khwūrīd Naqshbandī, f. 196
 Khwāja Muḥammad Sa'īd Jū'ibārī, f. 194b
 Shaykh Khalīl Allāh, f. 194b
 Maulānā Mīr Kāsa-garānī, f. 195
 Maulānā Akka Shaburghānī, f. 195
 Khwāja Kālān Dihlīdī, f. 195b
 Maulānā Khwājagī Amkanagī, f. 195b
 Maulānā Pā'inda Akhsikātī, f. 196.
 Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Naqshbandī, f. 196
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Mū'min ibn Shaykh Muḥammad Chishūf f. 196b.
 Shaykh Shāh 'Alī Aḥmadābādī, f. 196b
 Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Sulaymān Qurayshī, f. 197
 Shaykh Faḍl Allāh ibn Shaykh Ḥusayn f. 197
 Shaykh 'Alī Shūr Bangālī, f. 197b
 Shaykh Qaṣṣab, f. 197b
 Shaykh Rājī Muḥammad, f. 197b
 Mīrzā Shāh Naqshbandī, f. 198.
 Shaykh Bihra, f. 198
 Shaykh Muḥammad ibn al-Malik Qārī, f. 198
 Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Dhākir Chāmpānērī, f. 198b

- Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Zinda-dīl Shīrāzī, f. 198b
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Afghān, f. 199
 Lashkar Muḥammad 'Arif, f. 199
 Maulana Ismā'īl Sūmārā, f. 199b
 Shaykh Aḥmad Nānautā, f. 199b
 Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Kindwatī, f. 200
 Shaykh Qutb Jahān Dhākir, f. 200b
 Shaykh Najawī Chishtī Sanbhālī, f. 200b
 Shaykh Jalāl Thānāsārī, f. 201
 Shaykh Muḥammad Ghauth, f. 201b
 Shaykh Burhān Kālpī, f. 202
 Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ashiq Sanbhālī, f. 202b
 Mīr Sayyid Jalāl Āgarawī, f. 202b
 Shaykh Ḥusayn Aḥmad, f. 202b
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Ūchī, f. 203
 Shaykh Kabīr Multānī, f. 203b
 Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Ludyānā'ī, f. 203b
 Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn, f. 204
 Khwāja Muḥammad Yahyā Aḥrārī, f. 204
 Shaykh Ḥusayn Badakhshī, f. 204b
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Lahaurī, f. 205
 Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Maḍārī Āgarawī, f. 205
 Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dhīlawī, f. 205b
 Shaykh Salīm Chishtī Fathpūrī, f. 205b
 Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Anbēthī, f. 206
 Shaykh Bhīkh, f. 207b
 Shaykh Sa'dī Kākūrī, f. 207b
 Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Lakhnawī, f. 207b
 Shaykh Muḥammad Qalandārī, f. 208
 Shaykh Nizām Nārnawī, f. 208
 Shaykh Ilahīya Khayrābādī, f. 208b
 Shaykh Dā'ūd Jihnī, f. 209
 Shaykh Abban Amrōhagī, f. 210
 Shaykh Ad-han Jaunpurī, f. 210
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghaffūr A'zam-pūrī, f. 210b
 Miyān Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī, f. 211
 Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Niyāzī, f. 211b
 Shaykh Abū al-Faṭḥ Gujarātī, f. 211b
 Shaykh Abū Ishāq Mīhrang Lāhaurī, f. 212
 Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Gangōhī, f. 212b
 Shaykh Mustafā Gujarātī, f. 212b
 Shaykh Ishāq Kākū Lāhaurī, f. 212
 Shaykh Sa'd Allāh, f. 213
 Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Badāyūnī, f. 213
 Shaykh Jalāl Qannaujī, f. 213b
 Shaykh Kapūr Majdhūb Guwāliyarī, f. 214

Shaykh Ilaḥbakhsh Gadh Makrāsari, f. 214.
 Shah 'Arif Husayni, f. 214b
 Mir 'Ad' al-Dīn Awadhī, f. 215
 Shaykh Ḥamza Majdhūb Lakhnawī, f. 216
 Shaykh Pīrak, f. 216
 Shaykh Husayn Sikandara, f. 216b
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid Būḡarāmī, f. 216b.
 Shaykh Mubārak Ajaurī, f. 217
 Shaykh Chā'inadda Sirhūgī, f. 217.
 Shaykh Buhlūl Dihlawī, f. 217b

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

Maulānā Muṣṭafā Rūmī, f. 217b
 Mir 'Abd al-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, f. 218
 Miyan Ḥatim Sanbhalī, f. 218
 Maulānā 'Abd Allāh Sultānpūrī, f. 218b
 Shaykh Mubārak Nagaurī, f. 219b
 Mir Sayyid Muḥammad 'Adl Amrūshagī, f. 220.
 Shaykh Gada'i Kanbō, f. 220b.
 Miyan Jamāl Khān Mufti Dihlawī, f. 220.
 Qāḍī Jādī al-Dīn Multanī, f. 221
 Qāḍī Ṭawa'isī, f. 221
 Qāḍī Ya'qūb Manikpūrī, f. 221b.
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī Sadr al-Ṣudūr, f. 221b
 Shaykh Aḥmadī Fayyad Anbēthī, f. 222.
 Qāḍī Sadr al-Dīn Lahaurī, f. 222b.
 Shaykh Ilaḥdād Lakhnawī, f. 222b.
 Maulānā Maḥmūd Gīlānī, f. 223
 Sayyid Zakariyya' Hindī, f. 223
 Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Shāfi'ī, f. 223
 Mir Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Yahyā Badakhshī, f. 223b
 Maulānā Ḥajjī Muḥammad Kashmūrī Hamadānī, f. 223b.
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Aḥad Fārūqī Sirhindī, f. 223b.
 Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭahir Khawāshānī, f. 224
 Maulānā Ṣādiq Samarqandī Halwā'i, f. 224
 Maulānā 'Abd al-Shākūr Lahaurī, f. 224b.
 Shaykh Sa'd Allāh Naḥwī, f. 224b.
 Maulānā Ilaḥdād Sultānpūrī, f. 224b
 Maulānā 'Uthmān Sāmāna, f. 224b
 Ḥajjī Sultān Thānāsari, f. 225
 Sayyid Shāh Mir Sāmānagī, f. 225.
 Sayyid Yāsīn, f. 225b
 Shaykh Diyā' Allāh, f. 225b
 Mir Abū al-Ghayth Bukhārī, f. 226.

Abū al-Faṭḥ Thānāsari, f. 226b
 Maulānā 'Uḥmān Bangālī, f. 226b
 Shaykh Ḥusayn Tabrizī, f. 226b
 Maulānā Ismā'īl 'Arab, f. 226b
 Qāḍī Mubārak Gūpāmawī, f. 226b
 Maulānā Wīs Guwāliyārī, f. 227
 Shaykh Ḥasan Mūṣaḥī, f. 227b
 Qāḍī Nūr Alāh Shūstarī, f. 227b
 Ḥājjī Ibrāhīm Muḥaddith Akbarābādī, f. 228.
 Shaykh Jalāl Wāṣī, f. 228
 Shaykh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, f. 228b
 Maulānā Mirzā Harawī, f. 229
 Qāḍī Abū al-Ma'ālī, f. 229
 Maulānā Mīr Kalān, f. 229b
 Maulānā Sa'ūd Turkuṣānī, f. 230
 Ḥāfiẓ Kūhagī, f. 230
 Qāḍī Nizām Badakhshī, f. 230b
 Maulānā Ilahdād Lashkarkhanī, f. 230b
 Maulānā Muḥammad Muṭṭī, f. 231
 Mīr Faṭḥ Alāh Shīrāzī, f. 231
 Shaykh Maṣṣūr Lāhaurī, f. 231b
 Mullā 'Ala' al-Dīn Lārī, f. 231b.
 Mirzā Muḥlis Aurang, f. 231b
 Ḥakīm al-Mulūk Gilānī, f. 232
 Ḥakīm Sayf al-Mulūk Damāwandī, f. 232.
 Ḥakīm Masīh al-Mulūk Shīrāzī, f. 233.
 Ḥakīm Miṣrī, f. 233
 Ḥakīm Abū al-Faṭḥ Gilānī, f. 233b
 Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gilānī, f. 233b.
 Ḥakīm Hammām, f. 233b.
 Ḥakīm Ahmad Tattawī, f. 234
 Ḥakīm Luṭf Allāh Gilānī, f. 234

(iii) The Poets

Gazālī Mashhadī, f. 234.
 Qāsim Kāhī Miyān Kālī Kābulī, f. 235.
 Khwāja Ḥusayn Marwī, f. 235b
 Qāsim Arsalān, f. 236.
 Unṣī Qandhārī, f. 236b.
 Anīr Qāḍī Asīrī, f. 236b
 Mīr Amam Nūncha Mashhūr, f. 237
 Qāḍī Ahmad Ghaffarī Qazwīnī, f. 237b
 Mīr Ashkī Qummī, f. 237b.
 Abtarī Badakhshī, f. 237b
 Uṣfā Yazdī, f. 238.

Bayram Khān Khān-i Khānān, f. 238b.

Bikāṣī Ghaznawī, f. 238b

Bāqī Kūlābī, f. 239

Biyāḍī, f. 238.

Tabrizī, f. 238b.

Tarawī, f. 239b.

Tausarī, f. 239b.

Tadharwī Abharī, f. 240.

Tasbiḥī Kāshī, f. 240b

Thanā'ī-i Mashhadī, f. 240b

Judā'ī, f. 241.

Huznī, f. 241b.

Hālatī, f. 241b

Khanjar Bēg, f. 242.

Khusrawī, f. 242b.

Amir Daurī, f. 243.

Dakhilī, f. 243

Dawlānī, f. 243

Rāfi'ī, f. 243b.

Rihā'ī Khwāfī, f. 244

Raughanī, f. 244

Sīrī Ghaznawī, f. 244.

Sūryāfī, f. 244b.

Siml Bukhārī, f. 244b.

Saqqa, f. 245

Sipāhī, f. 245b.

Sarmadī Isfahānī, f. 246

Sāqī Harrārī, f. 246.

Shīrī Sirhindī, f. 246b

Shu'ūrī Turbatī, f. 247b

Ṣabūhī, f. 247b.

Ṣāliḥī, f. 248.

Ṣādiqī Qandahārī, f. 248.

Ṣarfī Sāwījī, f. 248.

Ṣubūrī Hamadānī, f. 248b.

Ṣāliḥī Diwāna, f. 248b

Tarī, f. 249.

Ṭarīqī Sāwījī, f. 249b.

Ṭālib Isfahānī, f. 250.

Tāli'ī Yazdī, f. 250.

Tiflī Faṭḥpūrī, f. 250b

Zuhūrī, f. 251

Mīr 'Abd al-Hayy-i Mashhadī, f. 251.

'Āṣabī, f. 251b

'Ubaydī, f. 252.

'Ishqī Khān, f. 252.

- La'li, f. 252b.
 Luṭfī, f. 252b.
 'Azīzī, f. 252.
 'Aḥdī Shīrāzī, f. 253b.
 'Ināyatī Shīrāzī, f. 254.
 'Urfī Shīrāzī, f. 254.
 Ghaznī Hīšārī, f. 254b.
 Ghaznī Shīrāzī, f. 255.
 Fāriḡhī Shīrāzī, f. 255.
 Fahmī Tīhrānī, f. 255b.
 Fahmī Samarqandī, f. 255b.
 Ikrī, f. 256.
 Fuṣūnī-Yazdī, f. 256.
 Fahmī Isṭrābādī, f. 256b.
 Shaykh Fayḍī, f. 256b.
 Qarṣī Gīlānī, f. 258b.
 Qaṣī, f. 259.
 Qayḍī Shīrāzī, f. 259.
 Kalāmī, f. 259b.
 Kāmī Qumī, f. 259b.
 Liqa'ī Astarābādī, f. 259b.
 Lawā'ī, f. 259b.
 Maḥwī, f. 260.
 Mir Muḥsin Radawī Mashhadī, f. 260.
 Mūsā, f. 260b.
 Murādī Astarābādī, f. 261.
 Mushfiqī Bukhārī, f. 261.
 Maylī Harawī, f. 262.
 Malik Qumī, f. 262b.
 Muqṣūdī Qazwīnī, f. 262b.
 Mīhnatī Hīšārī, f. 263.
 Mūsawī Mashhadī, f. 263.
 Mauzūn, f. 263.
 Manzarī Samarqandī, f. 263b.
 Muḍāmmī Hamadānī, f. 264.
 Muqīmī Sabzwārī, f. 264.
 Ma'pūm Zayāratgāhī, f. 264.
 Maulānā 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī, f. 264b.
 Maḥwī, f. 264b.
 Nuwīdī Turbatī, f. 264b.
 Nihānī, f. 266.
 Nijātī, f. 266.
 Niyāzī, f. 266b.
 Nāmī, f. 267b.
 Nawā'ī, f. 268.
 Nuwīdī Nīshāpūrī, f. 268b.

Nathī Tabrizī, f. 268b
 Wuqū'f Nishāpūrī, f. 269.
 Widad'f Harawī, f. 269b
 Waqū'f Harawī, f. 270.
 Waslī, f. 270b.,
 Wuqū'f Harawī, f. 270b
 Wafā'f Isfahānī, f. 270.
 Hamdamī, f. 270b
 Khwāja Hīrī, f. 271
 Hāshimī, f. 271b

Tabaqa IX

Jahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27)

(i) The Sūfīs

Maulānā Qādī Tarsūn Balkhī f. 272
 Darwish Sabz, f. 272b
 Sayyid Shīghat Allāh Hindī, f. 272b
 Maulānā Muḥammad 'Arab, f. 273
 Amīr 'Abd Allāh Balkhī, f. 273
 Shaykh Husayn Jamī, f. 273b
 Mīr 'Abd Allāh Ahrārī, f. 274.
 Amīr Ja'far Harawī, f. 274
 Shaykh Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh Qādūrī, f. 274.
 Ḥasan 'Alī Badakhshānī, f. 274b
 Shaykh 'Isā ibn Qāsim Hindī, f. 274b
 Sayyid Mīrākshāh, f. 275
 Sayyid 'Umar Makki Shirāzī, f. 275b
 Shaykh Ahmad 'Alī, f. 275b
 Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī Fārūqī, f. 276
 Sayyid Ahmad Afghān, f. 276.
 Sayyid Ibrāhīm, f. 276b
 Shaykh Khudā Bakhsh Māndawī, f. 276b
 Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh Nārnaulī, f. 277
 Shaykh Ni'mat Allāh Shaykhūporī, f. 277b
 Shaykh Ḥasan Chishtī, f. 278
 Zinda Ḥājī Majdhūb, f. 278
 Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Majdhūb Qādūrī, f. 278b.
 Shaykh Tāq Fathābādī, f. 279
 Shaykh Humāyūn Majdhūb, f. 279
 Shāh 'Umar Jūshangarī, f. 279
 Shaykh Biyābānī, f. 279b
 Shaykh Ilahdād of Tānda, f. 279b
 Shaykh Karam Allāh Multānī, f. 279b.

- Shaykh Nizām Thānēsārī, f. 280.
 Shaykh Gadā'ī Pānīpatī, f. 280.
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāhid Tārik al-Mā', f. 280b
 Shaykh Husayn Patta, f. 280b.
 Shaykh Daulat Gujarāti, f. 281.
 Shah Abū al-Ma'ālī, f. 281
 Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Bhutta, f. 281b
 Shaykh Husayn Kamāngar, f. 282
 Shaykh Kamāl Māndōwālī, f. 282b
 Shaykh Mustafā Nānauta, f. 283
 Shaykh Bāyazīd Ṣābūngar Hūdī, f. 283b
 Shaykh Bāyazīd Patnagī, f. 284
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī, f. 284.
 Shaykh Farrukh Shāh Nānautī, f. 284
 Shaykh Arzānī, f. 284b
 Shaykh Kamāl Mutawwakkil, f. 284b
 Shaykh Kamāl Muḥammad 'Abbāsī, f. 285
 Shaykh Tāy al-'Ashiqīn, f. 285b
 Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Kindwatī, f. 285b
 Shaykh Maḥmūd ibn Sayyid Malīk, f. 285b
 Bha'ī Ishāq, f. 286 /
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahid Ajodhani, f. 286b
 Shaykh Nūr Dihlawī, f. 286b
 Shaykh Kamāl Kashkī, f. 286b
 Shaykh Quṭb 'Ālam, f. 286b
 Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥtasib, f. 287
 Sayyid Mustāfā Bāghīpat, f. 287
 Shaykh Walī Muḥammad Dihlawī, f. 287b
 Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn Dihlawī, f. 287b

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

- Maulānā 'Alī Qārī, f. 288b
 Maulānā Jamāl Talawī, f. 288.
 Shaykh Kabīr Munawwar, f. 288b
 Ṣadr Jahān Pihānī, f. 288b.
 Miyyān Shaykh Quṭb 'Ālam, f. 289
 Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī Badāyūnī, f. 289
 Maulānā 'Abd al-Awwal Samarqandī, f. 289b
 Shaykh Daulat Munyarī, f. 289b.
 Shaykh 'Ilm Allāh Hindī Bijāpurī, f. 290
 Maulānā Darwīsh Nasafī, f. 290
 Qaḍī Naṣīr al-Dīn Hindī, f. 290b.
 Shaykh Anūn ibn Aḥmad Nahrwāla, f. 290b

APPENDIX II

Letters of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhīndī addressed to
Muhammad Ṣādiq Dihlawi Kashmīrī Hamadānī

دفتر اول

مکتوب صد و ششم

به محمد صادق کشمیری صدور یافته در بیان اینکه محبت استطاعت که متفرع
بر معرفت ایشان است از اجل نعم کز او بدست جلشانه

مکتوب مرعوب که منی از مرط محبت و کبار و داد بود تصور بدعت الله سبحانه الحمید
والله علی دلک

محبت این طائفه که متفرع بر معرفت است از اجل نعم خداوندیست جل سلطانه تا
کدام صاحب دولت یا باین نعم مشرف سارند - سبح الاسلام هر وی میفرماید انهی چیست
اینکه دوسان خود را کردی که هر که یسان را صاحب را یافت و تا بر این نعم یسان را
ششاهب - بعض یں طائفه سم هائل است و طعن یسان موجب حرمان ابدی است - بحانا
الله سبحانه و ایاکم هدالابتلاء - سبح الاسلام فرمود انهی هر کرا خو هی بر اندازی او را
با ما در اندازی -

بیت

بی عیادت حق و حاکمان حق

گر ملک باشد سیاهش وری

این رجوع و انابت که حق سبحانه و تعالی بتجدید سب را کرمت فرموده است نعم عظمی
تصور فرمایند و از حضرت حق سبحانه استقامت بر آن طلبید - و سلام علی من اتبع الهدی
والترحم متابعه المصطفی علیه و علی آله الصلوات و السلیام -

دفتر اول

مکتوب صد و هفتم

بیر محمد صادق کشمیری صدور یافته در جوابه و اصوله چند که نوشته بود
که از آنجا بوی معنی می آمد و این مکتوب مشتمل است بر فوائد ضروریه

که در ایان این طائفه علیه نافع اند

حق سبحانه و تعالی بسعادت بیان بن طایفه علیه مستعمل گرداناد و کسبی که رسال
داشته بودند مشتمل بر اصوله چند رسید - هر چند سوالیکه سائیه نعمت و نصیب داشته باشد
مستحق جواب نیست مطلقاً نزل نموده در جواب قدم می نهید اگر یکی را نفع نکند
شاید که دیگری را نافع آید - سوال و در جواب چیست که از ولایه متقدمین درامات
و حواری بسیار ظهور می گردند و در بررگان بن زمان کم ظاهر میشود ؟ اگر مقصود از این
سوال می بررگان این وقت است بواسطه قلب ظهور حواری از نشان چنانکه ظاهر از حواری
عبارت است فالعبد الله سبحانه من سويلا ، سوطان ظهور حواری به ارکان ولایت
است و به ارشاد آن ، بخلاف محرمه بر بی ر علیه الصلوة والسلام که از شرایط مقام
نبوت است لیکن ظهور حواری را اودیه الله شایع و دایع است کم است که تعالی کند ما
کثرت ظهور حواری بر اقصیت دلالت ندارد - بعضی آنجا با عیار درجاء قرب الهیست
حل سلطانه - بودند بود که رولی غرب ظهور حواری این باشد و در بعد اکثر حواری که
بعضی اولیای بن است بطور مده از صاحب کرام رضوان الله تعالی علیهم اجمعین عسر
عسیر بن بطور نیامده با آنکه فصل ربیاء بهرینه دناے صحابی برسد - نظر بر ظهور
حواری ا کوتاه نظریست و دلیلست بر قصور استعداد تعلیمی سایان قبول فیوض نبوت و
ولایت جماعه اند که استعداد تعلیمی در مسن غالب باشد بر قوت نظری انسان - صدیق
اکبر رضى الله تعالی عنه بواسطه قوت استعداد تعلیمی در صدیق نبی علیه و علی اله الصلوة
والسلام اصلاً محتاج بهم نگفت و بر حسب همین بود سطره قصور همین استعداد بوجود ظهور
حدیث آیات باهره و معجزات باهره بدوت تصدیق نبوت مشرف شد و حضرت حق سبحانه
در سال این می دولتان می فرماید و ان برر کل به لا یوموا بها حتی دا حاکم یخادلوک
یعنی تدین کهر و ان هد الاساطیر لاویس - با آنکه گوئیم که ظهور حواری از اکثر متقدمین
در طول عمر زیاده از پنج و شش حواری نقل نه کرده اند - جمید که سید این طائفه است
معلوم نیست که روی ده حواری نقل کرده باشد - و حضرت حق سبحانه و تعالی از حال

کلیم خود علی نبیا و علیه صلوة والسلام چنین خبر داده است حیث قال عرو جل و نقذ آنیا موسی تسع آیات بیانات و از مشایخ این وقت ر کجا معلوم شد که امثال این حواری بظهور نمی آید بلکه اولیاء الله را چه متقدم و چه ملاحر در هر ساعت ظهور حواری است ، مدعی ابرادند یا نداند .

مصرع

خورشید نه مجرم از کسی بی‌نا هست

سوال دوم آن بود که در کشف و سهود طالب صادق بقاء سلطان را دحل باشد یا نه ؟ اگر هست ، وضوح کیفیت کشف شیطانی چگونه است ؟ و اگر نیست ، سب آنکه در امور ملحه بعضی غلط یافته میشود ، چیست ؟ جوابش سب و الله سبحانه اعلم بانصواب - هیچکس ر الغاء شیطانی محفوظ نیست - هر گاه که در انباء منصور باشد بلکه محقق در اولاء بطریق اولی خواهد بود - طالب صادق چه باشد عیب ما فی الیاب الاییا را علیهم الصلوات والسلاوات بر آن الغاصبه می سازد و باطل ر از حق جدا میباید - کریمه فیسبح الله ما یمنی الشیطان ثم یحکم الله یانه دال است بدیسمعی ، و در اولاء این سیه لازم نیست که اومانع نبی است - هر چه مخالف نبی خواهد یافت ر خواهد کرد ، و باطل خواهد داشت ، اما در صورسکه شریعت نبی ازین ساکت است و سبب و سبب و نبی - حکم نمیکند امپار حق ر باطل بطریق قطعی دیوار است - چه بد و ظنی است - در عدم متیار هیچ ضروری بولایت راه نمی یابد ، چه آبیان سرریخت و منابع نبی مکمل بحاجت دارین است و امور مکتوب عبارتند بر سرریختند و ما مکلف به امور ندیده بیسیم - باید دانست که غلط کشف منحصر بر نداده شیطانی نیست - سب است که در معیله حکام غیر صادقه صوری پیدا کند که شیطان را در بحا هیچ مدخل یابد ازین قبیل است که بعضی در مسامات حضرت پیغمبر ر علیه الصلوة والسلام می پیسند ، و بعضی حکام را حد می کنند که فی الحقیقت خلاف آن احکام متحقق است در منصور الغاء شیطانی منصور نیست که محبر عیب عدم بعمل شیطان سب منصور حیر بشر علیه و علی به الصلوة و السلام بهر صورتیکه پاسد س درین صورت نیست الا تصرف معیله که غیر واقع را واقع دایمیده است - سوال سهوم آن بود که چون تصرف کرامات و سایر اب اسدح در پیش بر بر سب مبتدی چگونه ساسد که این ولی صاحب کرامات است و این مدعی صاحب استدراج ؟ جوابش است و الله سبحانه اعلم بانصواب ، که طالب مبتدی را درین تفرقه دین وضع است و آن وجدان صحیح اوست که اگر دل خود را در صاحب او بحق سببانه و نفی جمیع خواهد یافت خواهد دانست که آن وی صاحب کرامات است و گر خلاف این معنی خواهد یافت معلوم خواهد کرد که و مدعی

صاحب استدرج است. اگر صفاتی در معنی است عوام کالایع است نه طالبان را. و صفاتی عوام برد خواص از حیر اعتبار ساقط است که منتی آن مرض قلبی است و غشاوه بصری. چیزهای بسیار بر عوام محفی مایه که دانی آنها را دانستن این تفرقه ضروری بر است و لکنم هذا لمکتوب بعض المعارف. نمی تنعکس فی اراکه مثل هذه مشکوک و الشبهات بدانکه معنی تخلو باحلالی الله که در ولایت ماحود است است که حاصل شود مر اویاه الله را صفاتی که مناسب باشد مر صفات واجب را. تعالی، لیکن آن مناسب است در سم بود و مشارکت در عموم صفات نه در خواص معانی که آن محال است و مستلزم قلب حقایق در تحقیقات. خواصه محمد نارسا قدس سره می فرماید در مقام بیان معنی بحلوا باحلالی الله صفت دیگر ملک است و معنی ملک مصروف بود بر همه. چون رونده راه بر نفس خود مصروف شود، و او را مصبور تواند داشت، و مصروف و تدبیر باید بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد. صفت دیگر سمیع است و معنی سمیع سوس است. چون رونده راه سخن حق را از هر کس که باشد بی گرامی قبول کند و سررغیبی و حقایق بگوش جان فهم کند بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد. صفت دیگر بصیر است و معنی بصیر بیناست. چون رونده راه را بصیر بصیرت او بینا شده باشد و بصور فراموش همه عیوب خود بیند، و کمال حال دیگران بهی همه کس را نه از خود بیند، و بر بصری حق منظور نظر او شده باشد تا هر چه کند بر موصوف پسندیده حق کند بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد. صفت دیگر محی است و معنی محی رنده کننده بود. چون رونده راه باحیای مستغرق که قیام نباید بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد.

صفت دیگر تمیز است و معنی تمیز میر شده بود. چون سائلک بدعنیانی که بحای سمست گرفته اند وی منع آن بدعنا نباید بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد، علی هذا القیاس. و عوام معنی تخلو را بزرگ دیگر فهمیده اند. بخار در سه صلابت هو و بسته اند. حیان کرده اند که ولی را احیای حسدی در است و احیای عینی می باشد که اکثر بروی منکشف شود، و مال ایستاده و هو کما بری من لظنون الفاسدة. بعض الظن ثم و ابصار حواری محصور در احیا و امانت نیست. علوم و معارف انبیا در عظم آیات است و ارفع حواری، لهذا معجزة قرآنی و سایر معجزات انبیا و بقی آمد. چشم بگشاید که بر همه علوم و معارف که در رنگ بر بیسان میر برسد از گنجاست، علوم ناین همه کثرت بسیار موهی علوم شرعیه اند. سرمای مخالفت را گنجایش نیست. این خصوصیت علامت صاحب علوم است. حضرت خوجه ما قدس سره نوشته بودند که علوم شایع همه صحیح است اما چه فائده که سخن حضرت خوجه بر شایع حجت نیست هر چند حواء بر بر سرست بامید، زیاده چه نوشته آید و

این اسوله شما اولاً هر چند گریه بود اما چون باعث جذب علوم و معارف گشته و بی همه سعی بتفریب آنها در گفت آمده است ؛ بیک است .

بیت

هیچ زستی نیست کورا خویشی همراهِ بیست
رنگی شب رنگ را دیدان چودرو گوهر است

عجب کاریست که در مکتوب سابق خلاصی بسیار ظاهر ساخته بودید ، و سبب آن را ظهور دو واقعه بی در پی نموده ، نوشته بودید که اثر آن را در اقامت میر پادشاه بعدیکه بدامت بهام از وضع سابق متعجب گشت ، و به توبه و استغاثه ورد ، و بسجده ایها مشرف صاحب - یک ماه نگذشته بود که تعبیری درین وضع مفهوم گشت و برخود قهقری موضع سابق امداد حاصل آمد ، و در صدد آن آمدید که آن دو واقعه را وجوهی پیدا شود که بقضاء شیطانی منجر گردد و با بعضی کتبی بکنند ، آن چه بود و این چیست .

بیت

گفت : فَلَاقَتْنِي نَفْسٌ بِدَىٰ مِیْکَمَد
به نامی که به نفس خود می‌کشد

و سلام علی من اتبع الهدی والرم مدینه المصطفی علیه و علی اله الصلوٰت و التحیات و التسلیات -

دفتر دوم

مکتوب بیست و دوم

بمولانا محمد صادق کشمیری حضور یافته ، در بیان شرافت یافتن بلده سربند بر کبر بلاد بطعایل حضرت ایدش سلحه به تعالی ؛ مبادد نمودن توری که گردی از صفت و شان بوی راه بیافته در زمین سبکی خود ، و آن زمین بعد از چندگاه روضه مقدسه مخدومزاده کلان خواجه محمد صادق قدس سره گشت

الحمد لله و السلام علی عبادہ ندب اصطفی بعباده الله تعالى و سبحانه و بصدقة حبیبه تعالى علیه و علی له الصلوٰۃ والسلام والتحبیه و بمرکه - بلدة سربند گوئیای زمیں حیالے میں است کہ بری میں چاہ عمیق تاریک را پر کرده صفت بند ساحه بند و اکثر بلاد و بقاع برا ارتجاع داده و بوری در ن زمیں ودیعت گسته است کہ مقبس ر نور ہی صفتی و بی کیفی است در رنگ بوری کہ از زمیں مقدس بیت الله ساطع و لامع است - بیس از ارتحال فروردی اعظمی مرحومی بچند ماه این نور را بریں دروش ظاهر ساحه بودند و در ر وید زمیں سکی فقیر ن را نشان داده بوری نمودند ساطع کہ گردی ر صفت و شان بوی ره بیافته بود و از کیفیت سره و محیا - آرزوی آن شد کہ آن زمینی مدفن میں شود و آن نور بر سر قبر میں لامع بود - این معنی ر فروردی اعظمی کہ صاحب سر بود ظاهر ساحتم و از آن نور و از آن آرزوی مطمع گردانیدم - اتفاقاً فروردی مرحومی میں دوست سبب کرد و در پرده حاک دردمانی آن نور مصعرق گشت

هینا لاریب التمیم بعیمیا

و شعاعی سکیں صاحب خ

از شرافت این بلدة معظمه است کہ مل فروردی اعظمی کہ از اکابر اولیاء الله است در آنجا اموده است و بعد از مدتی ظاهر شد کہ آن نور مودع ثقه است از انوار قلبیه اس قصر کہ . حیا امیبس نموده در زمیں امر رجه اند در رنگ انکه خراشی ا معله بر افروزد دل من عبد الله نور السموات والارض سبحان رب العزہ عما یفکون و سلام علی مرسلین و الحمد لله رب العلمین

دفتر دوم

مکتوب بیست و هشتم

بمولانا محمد صادق کشمیری در جواب استعمار های او

بعد الحمد و الصلوٰۃ و تبلیغ بدعوات میر سدید مکتوب سر یف رسید - چون مصمم احوال پسندیده بود ، موجب فرحت گشت - بوسته بودند کہ در وراثیت معامد بجائی رسیده است کہ حمل صفات بروی تعالی و تقدس بتکلف میسرید و ویرا سبحانه و راهمه میداد - سعی نمایند کہ این حمل بتکلف هم میسر بشود و بحیرت صرف انجامد پرمسیده بودند کہ در رشحات از بابا بریر نقل کرده است کہ گفته چون حق سبحانه و تعالی بروز ارل گل آدم می سرشتن میں آب بر آن گل میریختم ، ناویل این چگونه باشد - بداند کہ در خدمات طیبہ حضرت آدم علی نبیا وعلیه الصلوٰۃ و سلام چنانچه ملائکہ کرم را ، علی نبیا

وعليهم الصلوة والسلام دحل دده بودند، روح ور قدس سره مير دحل داده باشند، و خدمت
 آبريزی باو سپرده و بعد از نشاء عصری او بلکه بعد از کمال او بايستمی اورا اطلاع داده
 باشند جائز است که حضرت حق سبحانه و تعالی رواج محروم را قدری بدهد که فعال
 اجسام صادر نماید - ازين قبيل است آنچه بعضی را کرا از افعال شائقه خود حر داده اند که
 پیش از وجود عصری بقرون متظاربه صادر شده بودند - ان صدور افعال از ارواح مجردة
 ايمان بوده و اطلاع بریسمعی اسائر بعد از وجود عصری حاصل شده - جمعی را صدور
 این افعال در توهم مدسح می اندزد و حاجت و کلا که بدنی دیگر باو ملق گرفته باشد - روح
 محرومست که بعد از حد وندی حل سطحه کار بین میکند و رباب ریع را برصلان می اندازد
 در مقدم مجال سعی بسیارست و تحقیقات غریبه فائض گشته - اگر توفیق یافت جایی
 ثبت خواهد نمود ساء الله تعالی، الا وقت ماعدت نمود، و ایضاً پرسیده بودند که در
 رشحات میبوسد که چون خواجه علاء الدین قدس سره از مولانا نظام الدین خاموش، گران
 خاطر شده خوشند که ریششان سلب سبب کند مولانا در اوقات الحاضر و حاضرات اسرور
 ورد، غلبه و علی به الصلوة والسلام و اوان حضرت علیه و علی اله الصلوة والسلام بحضرت
 خواجه عظام رسد، که نظام بدین اوان مایست کسی و بروی محل تصرف باشد، و جای
 دیگر در همین کتب میبوسد که در پیری حضرت خواجه حرار قدس سره از مولانا سلب
 سبب نمودند - مولانا متکلف که خواجه ملوا پیر یافتند و هرچه داشتند بردند و در حرک
 مقدس گردانیدند - بی چگونه بود که حضرت رسالت علیه و علی اله الصلوة والسلام کسی را
 که از خود ساخته باشند و فرموده که کسی را بروی محل تصرف نیست، حضرت خواجه
 حرار قدس سره چگونه بروی تصرف کنند؟ بداند که حضرت خواجه ما قدس سره این
 فعل را نمی پسندیدند و در سلب سبب مولانا توقف داشتند و میفرمودند که مولانا عبدالرحمن
 و غیر ایشان از مریدان مولانا سعد الدین کاسمری که مرید مولانا نظام الدین است بسیارند و
 هیچ یکی باین فعل لب نگذاشته است و به توفیق قبول پیس نیامده، مولانا فخر الدین علی از
 کجا نوشته باشد؟ و اگر این جر صدق میدست بر فعل میبوسد لکن اثر لدو علی نفع،
 و چون بواتر منقول نگشت و به حر واحد قرار گرفت معلوم شد که در صحت آن تردست و
 بعضی از نقلهای دیگر که صاحب رسجات کرده است را صدق دورند، و هل این سلسله
 علیه در آن نقلها بردهها دارند، و هو سبحانه علم - و یضاً حضرت خواجه ما قدس سره
 میفرمودند که مقدس ساحس دلالت بر سبب پیر دارد - اعتدافه سبحانه مه، و ایسمعی
 تجویز نمودن بسیار مشکل است زیرا لا ترع قلوب بعد از هدیتنا و هب لنا من لدنک رحمة
 انک انت الوهاب -

دفتر سوم مکتوب سی و نهم.

بمولانا محمد صادق کمبری ورود یافته در بیان فرق میان علم یقین صوفیه و علم یقین رباب معقول

الحمد لله وسلام علی عباده یدین اصطفی - علم الیقین نزد صوفیه عبارت از یقینی است که با استدلال از اثر به موثر حاصل میشود و چون این معنی هل نظر و استدلال را نیز میسر است فرق در میان علم یقین صوفیه و علم یقین رباب معقول چه بود و علم یقین صوفیه چرا در حل کشف و سهود باشد و علم الیقین علما یکدم وجه از صبیق نظر و فکر نه برآید - باید دانست که در علم الیقین هر دو طایفه سهود و تر لایم است تا از آنجا بی به موثر برده شود که عبر سهود است عاده مافی الباب رباطی که در میان اثر و موثر حاصل است و سبب اتصال است از وجود اثر بوجود موثر - در علم الیقین صوفیه از رباط بیرم سهود مکتوب -

در علم الیقین هل استدلال از رباط بطریق است که در کمال و دلیل محتاج است پس ناچار اتصال از وجود اثر بوجود موثر طایفه اولی از حدسی بلکه هدیه باشد و طایفه ثانیة از این اتصال نظری و فکری بود - پس یقین طایفه اولی داخل کشف و سهود باشد، و یقین طایفه ثانیة از صبیق استدلال نه برآید - و بطریق استدلال در علم یقین صوفیه مبنی بر ظاهر و صورت است که متضمن اتصال است از تر به موثر فرق الحقیقت کشف و سهود است بخلاف علم الیقین علما که بحقیقت استدلالی است و چون این فرق دقیق بر اکثری پوسیده مانده است ناچار در مرتبة حیرت مانده اند و جمعی ریشه را راسائی خود رها و اعتراض را در از ساحته اند بر بعضی عره که علم یقین صوفیه را تفسیر با استدلال از اثر به موثر کرده اند - کل دلیک لعدم الاطلاع علی حقیقه الامر و فیه بحق الحق و هو بیدی السبیل والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی -

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